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# Nuclear Times

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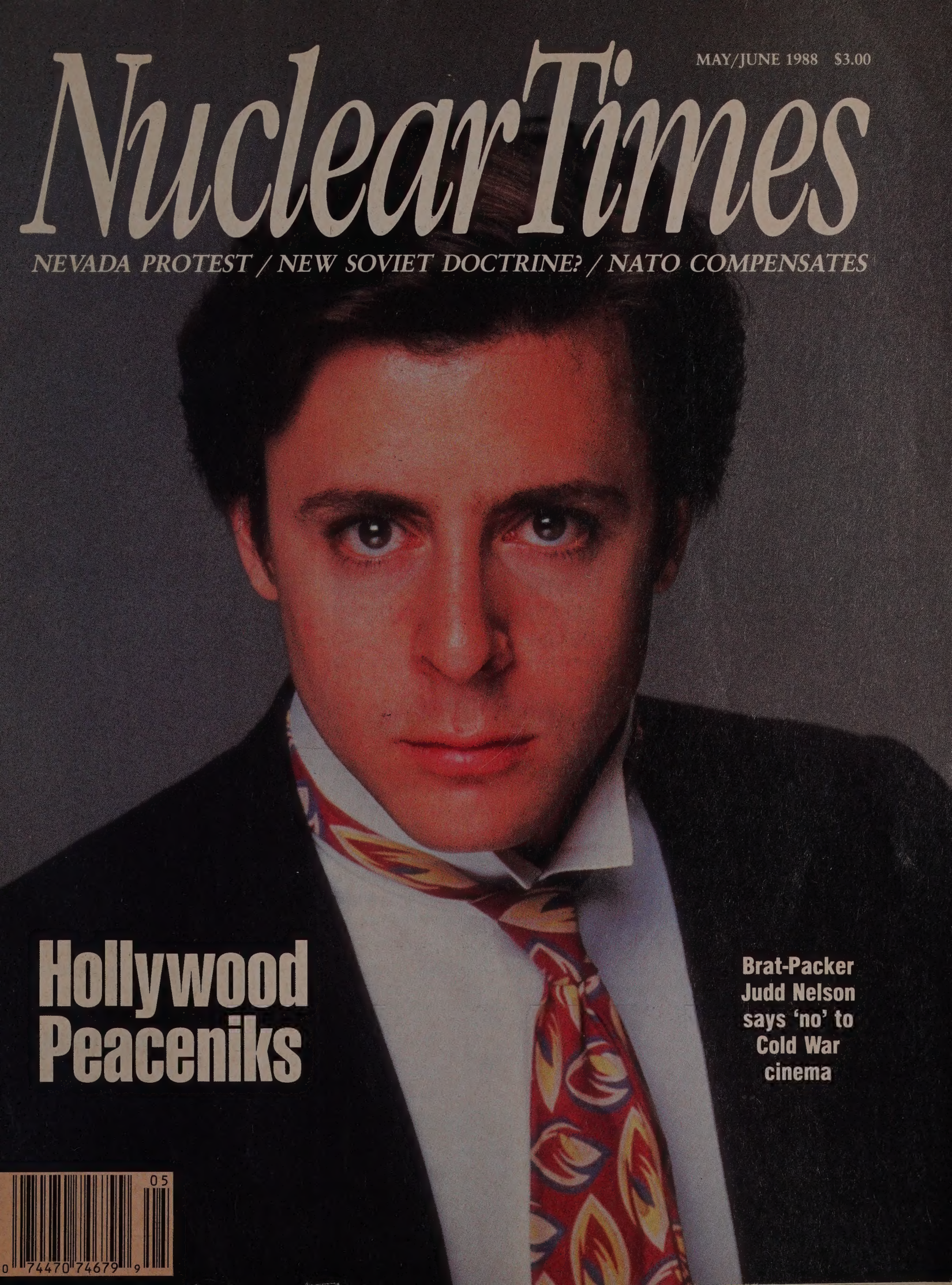

## Hollywood Peaceniks

Brat-Packer Judd Nelson says 'no' to Cold War cinema

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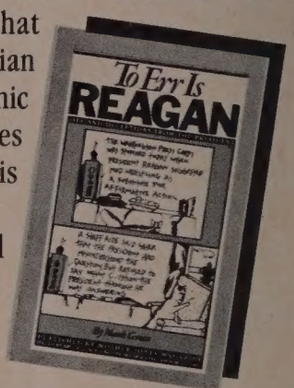


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# LETTERS

## CD Or Not CD?

Mel Friedman's article ["Acts of Conscience," Jan./Feb. 1988] cites the actions of Brian Willson and other protesters at the Concord Naval Weapons Station as being "civil disobedience" and quotes me as saying the peace movement, to succeed, must attract law-abiding people. Friedman wrongly assumes I am inferring that these activists are breaking the law and are therefore practicing civil disobedience.

The activists are *not* breaking the law. Nor are they simply obeying a higher law. They are actually obeying existing U.S. law.

That law is set forth in "The Law of Land Warfare" in the *U.S. Army Field Manual* (FM27-10, 18 July 1956). The manual quotes the Nuremberg Principles, which define and make criminal war crimes, crimes against humanity, and crimes against peace, e.g. planning or waging a war of aggression. These principles specifically apply to "any person, whether a member of the armed forces or a civilian."

It is also set forth in the charter of the United Nations, which is a treaty ratified by the U.S. Senate (89-2) in 1945 and therefore part of the "supreme law of the land" under the Constitution, Article VI, Section 2. (See Articles 2.3 and 2.4 of the charter, which require member nations not to use "force or threat of force" in settling international disputes.)

According to the congressional Iran-contra report, the United States is breaking the law, not the activists protesting at the Concord Naval Weapons Station.

*Ann Fagan Ginger, Director*
*Peace Law & Education Project*
*Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute*
*Berkeley, California*

I thought Mel Friedman's analysis of the civil disobedience movement fell far short of constructive criticism that the movement needs very much. The numerous misstatements about nonviolent action (e.g. Gandhi singlehandedly liberated India) gave me the sense that he doesn't understand some the basic dynamics involved. Moreover, many of the critics of civil disobedience quoted in the article seem to view it exclusively through the eyes of a power broker lobbying in Congress.

While I realize that Washington, D.C., is the center of the universe, those of us in the grassroots also need to be involved in developing visions and practices of peace unrestrained by the realities of electoral politics. Fears that civil disobedience will delegitimize electoral political efforts are unfounded in my experience with both in the last 12 years. Both are needed and both can aid the other regardless of the underlying tension between them.

Nonviolent action stems from a more profound criticism of the exercise of power than does electroal action. It is planting very real seeds of alternative forms to the violence-based military. By its resistance to nuclear weapons, nonviolent action begins to embody the alternative security that the peace movement needs to develop.

*Mark Anderlik*
*Victor, Montana*

I appreciated Mel Friedman's look at civil disobedience in the peace movement, but I was disappointed that he gave credence to the criticisms made by an unnamed "top executive in a major peace foundation." I would suggest that this critic wishes to remain anonymous because he or she shares the view attributed to the "average American": CD gives the image of a peace movement composed of "crazies."

This criticism of civil disobedience is common, particularly among movement "professionals." In my experience, it reflects a shortsighted ignorance of the nonviolent direct action movement and the public's response to it.

This ignorance is again revealed at the conclusion of the article. The unnamed critic says that he or she doubts that Ronald Reagan signed the INF agreement because of recent civil disobedience actions. Certainly no thoughtful activist would claim that CD alone alone pushed Reagan to the bargaining table, but such a straw man is easily thrashed for the sake of another anonymous jab at resistance tactics.

I will be the first to admit that some civil disobedience actions are more appropriate than others. But any criticism of CD's effectiveness must take into account Friedman's reminder that 42 years of "legal" efforts have produced "infinitesimal progress" toward disarmament.

*Jack Cohen-Joppa, Co-editor*
*The Nuclear Resister*
*Tucson, Arizona*

***Mel Friedman replies:*** In my article I noted that tactics popularly called "civil disobedience" go by different names—"divine disobedience," "non-violent direct action" and "Nuremberg Action" among them—and that these differences in nomenclature are not trivial. They define the source of a group's objection to the arms race. I used "civil disobedience" as a generic term for this broad form of anti-nuclear protest.

Ann Fagan Ginger correctly points out that Brian Willson's group predicates its actions on the Nuremberg principles and international law. But because his tragic protest focused on U.S. policy in Central America, not nuclear weapons, I could only give it cursory treatment. The U.N. Charter, Nuremberg decrees and international law require soldiers and civilians alike to resist the policies and instruments of mass murder. Ginger is right: the Constitution does make ratified treaties valid U.S. law, binding for all citizens. Unfortunately, that is the starting point, not the end, of the argument. As I indicated, the courts have almost universally rejected such defenses in cases involving anti-nuclear civil disobedience. Protesters may sincerely believe, in Ginger's words, that they are "obeying existing U.S. law" by trespassing or halting weapons trains, but they are asserting rights not yet recognized by the courts and are confronting the bench as lawbreakers.

Mark Anderlik writes of "numerous misstatements" in my article, but cites only one alleged example—oddly, my concluding remark about the hope we all can draw from Gandhi's life (I never used the word "singlehanded"). He complains of the arrogance of critics who view civil disobedience narrowly "through the eyes of a peace power broker," but later displays a bit of arrogance himself, declaring, "Nonviolent action stems from a more profound criticism of the exercise of power than does electoral action." He fails to see how activism, too, can degenerate into a power trip,

especially if it becomes fixated on its own moral rectitude.

Lastly, Jack Cohen-Joppa expresses dismay that I gave "credence" to the criticisms of an anonymous source who worried that some anti-nuclear protest tactics might give the American public the impression that the peace movement is composed of "crazies." I gave the remark coverage—not credence—precisely because, as Cohen-Joppa himself admits, this "criticism of civil disobedience is common, particularly among movement 'professionals.'" If so, the best antidote is not to bury such criticisms but to expose their baselessness, as I tried to do by telling the stories of a number of peace activists. Their thoughtful comments are sufficient to persuade even the most rigid skeptic that their courageous stands against nuclear weapons are worthy of our deepest respect and support.

## Common Security

I would like to respond to the question posed by Christine Wing in her "Critique of Common Security" in the January/February issue. In it she asks: "How are we going to build our power as a movement?"

Randall Forsberg's vision of "alternative defense" could only serve to energize the peace movement by suggesting a long-term alternative to the present war system. I know I can sustain my enthusiasm for the daily political work I do if I can see the importance of each task within the framework of a comprehensive vision.

Forsberg's alternative defense proposal is compatible with the immediate goals of SANE/FREEZE. We still need to stop the arms race as a necessary first step. What will it take to stop it? A large, well-organized movement that puts continued pressure on the federal government.

A long-range vision does not undermine the immediate organizing work of peace organizations; rather it provides a framework for the various steps we take. We are not talking about changing our priorities so much as deepening our understanding of where we are heading.

*Joan Bokaer, Director*
*Citizens Network*
*Cornell University*
*Ithaca, New York*

## Comparing Budgets

I was surprised and somewhat dismayed at your response to Gray Anderson's "Pentagon Propaganda?" letter [Jan./Feb. 1988], particularly since I have so much regard for your journal.

Anderson criticized an article ["Back in


# HELP *NUCLEAR TIMES*

A Letter from the Executive Director

Dear friend,

Two-and-a-half years ago, *Nuclear Times* established the first and only cooperative publishing program for the peace movement. Our project allows eight national peace groups to send *Nuclear Times* to their members and gives them their own news columns in our Network section. *Nuclear Times* now goes out to thousands of readers nationwide, and we believe communications for peace have been greatly improved. We are proud of this project; it is an all-too-rare example of cooperation. And, judging from the feedback we receive, many of you really count on us.

Unfortunately, our affiliated peace groups are unable to pay the full cost of this project. *Nuclear Times* spends tens of thousands of dollars each year to keep the project going. We've been able to raise most of the difference from foundations and individual donors.

But outside donors can't cover it all. Nor can we any longer. We need your help.

In the last two years we have added three new sections to the magazine and have worked hard to make *Nuclear Times* more attractive and more readable. Not because it would help us sell ads to big companies—it won't. But because we want to make *Nuclear Times* as useful and effective as possible. That costs money.

We need to cover the rising costs of paper and postage, and we want to keep our cooperative effort alive—so that thousands of people can continue reading about peace. I know many of you are struggling to make ends meet. So are we. If you can, please help us.

With thanks from all of us at *Nuclear Times*,

Richard Healey
Executive Director

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the U.S.S.R."] in your September/October 1987 issue that compared what the United States and the Soviet Union spend on their military budgets. You must know that there is a propaganda program to use disinformation about relative military budgets of the two superpowers. Comparing percentages of GNP is a form of misinformation since it obscures total military expenditures. You should also know that one aspect of the U.S. government's "secret agenda" is to economically suffocate the Soviet Union by fueling the arms race. I document these contentions in my new book, *America, God and the Bomb* (New Star Books, Vancouver, Canada, 1987).

However, I do appreciate the point you were making, namely that neither superpower, and particularly the Soviet Union, can afford the distorting burden of military spending—bad money drives out good.

*F.H. Knelman, Ph.D.*
*Vancouver, British Columbia*

Reliable sources report the Soviet Union is and has been three years behind the United States in all phases of armament. Its GNP is approximately $2 trillion per year and its military spending is $240 billion per year. The annual U.S. GNP is about $4 trillion with military spending at $292 billion. Both countries are going bankrupt. By only reporting the percentage of GNP [in Ellen Hosmer's article, "Back in the U.S.S.R."] it gives the false impression that the Soviet Union is spending more on the military than the United States.

*Mary H. Pavlinic*
*Lady Lake, Florida*

***The editors reply:*** Comparing the U.S. and Soviet military budgets is very difficult. It is not made easier by the Soviets' reluctance to publish accurate figures or U.S. analysts' eagerness to exaggerate them. The issue is clouded by much propaganda, about which Knelman rightly complains.

Still, comparisons can be made—with important qualifications. The United States currently spends 6.7 percent of its GNP on the military; the Soviet Union 11 to 12 percent, according to Brian McCartan, senior analyst at the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., and Ruth Sivard in her excellent book: *World Military and Social Expenditures* (World Priorities, Box 25140, Washington, DC 20007). The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency says the Soviets spend 12.6 percent, and the CIA argues that it is as much as 15 to 17 percent. But after a step-by-step review of their accounting, Sivard argues persuasively for the lower 11 to 12 percent figure.

As Knelman notes, however, comparisons of GNP do not tell the whole story. The Soviet Union and the United States each spend roughly the same amount on their military forces, about $300 billion a year, though the U.S. economy is twice as large as the Soviet economy. That is why the U.S. percentage of GNP is less and why it is accurate to say that military spending places a greater burden on the Soviet economy than it does on the U.S. economy.

Figures of absolute spending are problematic too. Mary Pavlinic cites figures that suggest the Soviets spend less than the United States each year. But McCartan notes that Pavlinic's figures are a comparison of what the United States is authorized to spend and what the Soviet Union actually spends. The United States actually spends less than it is authorized to, and the Soviets authorize more than they spend. The net result is that they both spend more or less equal amounts. (Again, it is hard to be exact.)

There is yet another wrinkle. If one compares the growth rates of military spending, which is usually done to determine the emphasis each country places on its military forces, the figures show that Soviet expenditures grew more rapidly than those of the United States in the late 1970s (this at a time when the United States was winding down from the Vietnam War), and that U.S. spending has grown at a more rapid rate in the 1980s.

We stand by the facts Ellen Hosmer reported, though we admit that one cannot always cover complex details in a short news story—especially one that was not on the question of military budgets. And we stand by the point Hosmer was making: that bloated military spending by either country is bad for their economies. Social programs, such as medical care, that are designed to meet human needs are elbowed aside. This is a shame. Upon that, we can all probably agree.

## Errata

The list of organizations that accompanied the "Acts of Conscience" article on civil disobedience in the January/February issue included some out-of-date addresses. Below is the correct information:

Catholic Worker, 36 E. 1st St., New York, NY 10003; Center on Law and Pacifism, c/o Durland, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, PA 19086; Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 4534 1/2 University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105; Nukewatch, 315 W. Gorham, Madison, WI 53703; Plowshares Defense Fund and Disarmament Education Fund, 36 E. 12th St., New York, NY 10003.

# DISPATCHES

## GWEN DRAWS STATIC

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION does not talk much about fighting and winning a limited nuclear war anymore, but the Pentagon is still plodding ahead with its plans to build the Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) system. A string of more than 100 radio towers across the country, GWEN is designed to protect military messages from a nuclear explosion's electromagnetic pulse that would temporarily knock out links in national communications systems.

Grassroots opposition and a less-than-enthusiastic Congress, however, have stalled the development of the $750-million system. Originally funded in 1982, the project called for a total of 127 fixed towers and 100 mobile terminals by 1986, but so far only 50 of the 300-foot towers have been built.

The Pentagon says GWEN is needed to deter a nuclear attack. "If you were a Soviet planner and you had a pretty good sense that you could knock out U.S. communications for the first 30 minutes of an attack, would you find that attractive . . . ? Probably," says Franklin C. Miller, director of strategic forces policy for the Pentagon. GWEN, he says, would be "useful in deterring such a decision."

Community activists argue that the network would not function as a deterrent. They say the system is designed to survive a nuclear attack and enable the president to give orders for a retaliatory strike.

**Nancy Foster and René Theberge of the GWEN Project in Amherst.**

"We see GWEN as part of a plan for carrying out a nuclear war," says Nancy Foster, director of the Amherst, Massachusetts-based GWEN Project, which coordinates national opposition to the towers. "We worry there are people in the Pentagon who really think they can control a nuclear war."

The GWEN Project and other grassroots organizations have successfully lobbied Congress to drastically reduce GWEN funding from administration requests over the last two years, from $97 million to $33 million in 1987, and from $52 million to $36 million in 1988. Moreover, Congress made its most recent allocation on the condition that funding be cut off for towers next year.

"Congress is clearly disillusioned with the system," says GWEN Project Assistant Director René Theberge. He says that although the Air Force probably has enough money to finish construction of 56 more towers, it may not be able to finish the entire system.

It is in New England where the Air Force has faced the fiercest community opposition, which has forced tower construction to fall behind schedule. Opponents challenging the Pentagon's environmental impact statements have won a court injunction against the Rhode Island tower and have forced the relocation of two Massachusetts towers. Anti-GWEN efforts have the support of Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, a current frontrunner among Democratic presidential hopefuls.

Miller says the Pentagon will be less receptive to political concerns than it has been to toward environmental objections. But Foster is not abandoning her political agenda just yet. "It doesn't mean Congress won't listen and it doesn't mean people shouldn't express [opposition]," she says.

"When a GWEN tower comes into a community, that community gets a chance to look hard at the nuclear arms race," she adds. So far, many communities have looked hard and said no thanks.

*—Stephen J. Simurda*

*For more information, contact the GWEN Project, P.O. Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004, (413) 549-1576.*

## UN TAKES UP ARMS CONTROL

FOR THE THIRD TIME in a decade, the United Nations will devote a special session to disarmament and attempt to move international arms initiatives forward.

Although the UN's Third Special Session on Disarmament, which will convene for a month in New York starting May 31, comes during a period of improved U.S.-Soviet relations, UN officials wonder whether the session can produce any concrete results. UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs Yasushi Aksahi welcomes the "more open" mood in U.S.-Soviet relations but questions "whether it will be transformed into internationalism."

The First Special Session on Disarmament, held in 1978, produced a remarkable consensus document that outlined international disarmament priorities and detailed actions that countries could collectively take to reduce the risk of nuclear war. During the Second Special Session in 1982, which was held during a period of tense U.S.-Soviet relations, one million people turned out for the largest-ever anti-nuclear demonstration. Although it provided a rallying point for public protest of the arms race, the second session failed to produce a consensus document that advanced the work of the first session.

Signs are that this year's session may fare no better. A preparatory committee has failed to agree on a draft declaration

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and has submitted only a list of "suggestions" for the General Assembly's consideration.

A number of countries had wanted the assembly to discuss a comprehensive test ban treaty, a nuclear weapons freeze, a prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons and adoption of a no-first-use pledge by countries possessing nuclear weapons, a ban on the development and deployment of nuclear weapons in space, and the transfer of arms-related resources to development projects as part of the agenda.

But U.S. representatives, who said they intended "to participate constructively" in the session, also indicated they would oppose adoption of these goals by the UN. With these and other disagreements among East, West and non-aligned countries, most UN officials expect the session to have only modest results.

One proposal that will likely be discussed widely is an initiative by Parliamentarians Global Action that would give non-nuclear governments a role in monitoring and verifying a superpower test ban treaty. As part of a "Six Nation Initiative for Peace and Disarmament," the heads of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania offered in May 1987 to establish seismic and satellite monitoring stations to prevent cheating and increase international confidence in arms control measures.

Outside the UN, the National Coalition in Support of the UN Third Special Session on Disarmament is planning a conference on June 7-9, a large-scale march and rally on June 11, and other events during the session. The coalition's coordinator, Leslie Cagan, says, "This will be *the* major public peace protest this year."

*—Claude Robinson*

*For more information contact: the Coalition, 11 John St., Rm. 803, New York, NY 10038, (212) 608-8155.*

# HUNDREDS ARRESTED IN NEVADA

"AN ADULT TEMPER TANTRUM," is how Nye County District Attorney Phil Dunleavy characterized the demonstration by 5,000 to 6,000 anti-nuclear protestors at the Nevada test site on March 12. Braving desert wind and freezing nighttime temperatures, the crowd kicked off a nine-day civil disobedience action reminiscent of the great peace and civil rights marches of the 1960s.

Approximately 1,200 people were arrested in the main action of the spring protest, dubbed "Reclaim the Test Site" by the organizing group, American Peace Test (APT).

Relay runners from Las Vegas opened the rally by bringing a torch lit from the eternal flame at the Hiroshima memorial in Japan.

After remarks by radio personality Casey Kasem, United Farmworkers President Cesar Chavez and SANE/FREEZE President William Sloan Coffin, protesters climbed over and through two miles of barbed-wire fence surrounding the test site, as 300 arresting officers stood by.

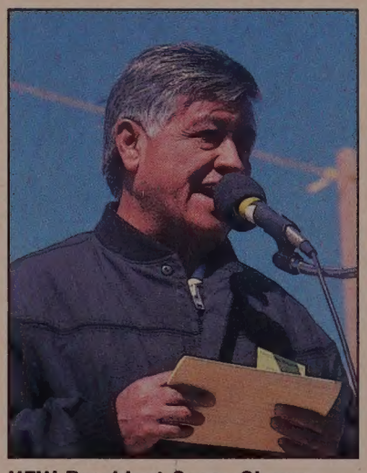
Nye County sheriff's deputies and Nevada Highway Patrol troopers, along with Wackenhut Security officers then cuffed protesters with plastic handcuffs and led them into a specially built chain-link and barbed-wire holding pen. The pen contained portable toilets. Actor Robert Blake, actress Teri Garr and activist Daniel Ellsberg were among those arrested.

Arrested demonstrators were then taken by bus 140 miles north to the small town of Tonopah, where they were set free and left to find their own way back to the test site or to Las Vegas. Many stayed overnight in Tonopah motels. No charges were brought against the protesters.

District Attorney Dunleavy complained that the demonstration only harms Nye county's residents and threatens the jobs of test site workers.

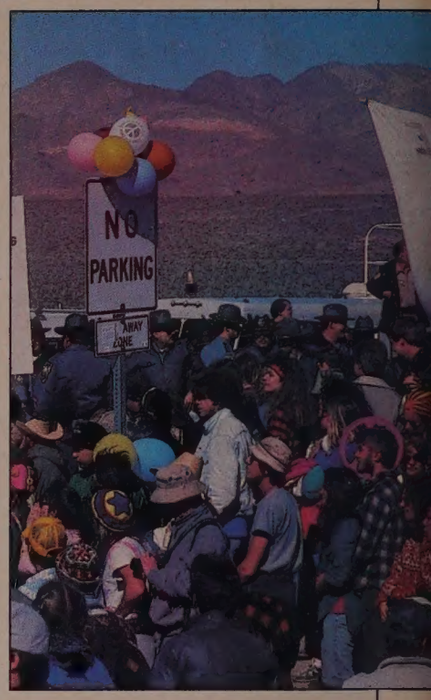
"Getting arrested is nonsense," Dunleavy said. "You can look at Mothers Against Drunk Driving or Ralph Nader to see social change without civil disobedience. I wish the protesters would consider the harm they are doing to the people of Nye County who have nothing to do with presidential policy."

In explaining why he dropped trespassing charges last September against APT leaders Jesse Cocks and Peter Bergel, Dunleavy said, "All they were after was national media attention. They're not entitled to it. They're petty criminals. Some people would try to sue me to get me to prosecute them. They have a martyr complex. They're loading up the court with frivolous appeals. I was spending one-quarter of my office budget on these protesters. The Fed don't pick up the tab. When I realized the error of my ways, I quit processing them."



**UFW President Cesar Chavez**

Since last summer, a small but vocal pro-nuclear testing group called Americans for Nuclear Testing (ANT) has staged counter-demonstrations at the test site. Some two dozen ANTs demonstrated on March 12. Nearly all the ANTs have economic ties to the site. Group leader Peggy Konold of Overton, Nevada, is married to a test site carpenter and her late father, J.D. Shoate, worked as a truck driver at the test site for 20 years. Konold's mother, Edith Shoate, is also an ANT organizer.

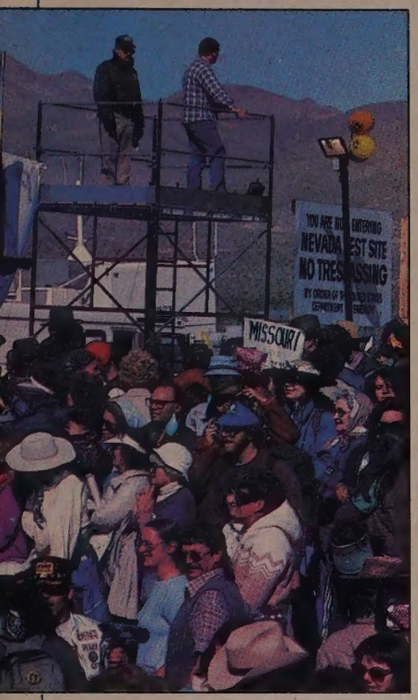



Shoate said her group is made up mostly of women who don't want their husbands to lose their jobs. She said the men are too busy working to participate much in the group and the carpenters' union, where they once held ANT meetings, no longer actively supports the group.

"The carpenters used to back us but they're so weak-kneed. They're sissies. They have no guts. They haven't done anything for us."

Both Dennis Greene of the Nevada Highway Patrol and Nye County Undersheriff Mark Zane confirm reports that ANTs have used obscene language and threats of violence against anti-nuclear protesters. Zane said the ANTs have only partially met authorities' requests to stop using abusive language.

When asked if she heard any swearing and jeering from the ANTs during the arrest of a peace protester on the test site road last summer, Shoate re-




**About 1,200 protesters were arrested as they crossed the nuclear test site boundary.**

plied, "I never heard nothing. Oh, yeah, some bitch was in front of a car with her legs and ass in the air. I wouldn't be surprised if some man did that swearing that was reported in the paper. But the media lies. They lie about everything. You know that."

Shoate said, "If you know anything, you know the United States has enemies. Russia is the number one enemy. I think Russia would bomb us if they could weaken us—get us to get rid of our weapons. Don't you know history? Gorbachev said in November 1987, 'Our eyes are on one-world domination.' He said that just before coming over here for the INF Treaty."

Shoate claims the anti-nuclear protesters are Marxist-Leninist "scum of the earth." "We will never be equal to Russia because of people who don't believe in testing," she said.

"Everyone has a piece of the truth," said APT's Jesse Cocks, explaining that a nonviolent way of life requires listening to other people.

In attempting to live this philosophy, Cocks said APT members had dinner with the ANTs and some were surprised to find they had mutually worked on a save-the-whales campaign. Cocks said shortly afterward she was surprised to hear Konold on television say she feared APT was influenced by communists.

"I said to myself, 'Peggy, you had dinner with me. You know I'm not a communist.'"

Are the demonstrations at the test site changing local public opinion?

According to a sociological study done by the University of Nevada-Las Vegas and the University of Nevada-Reno in February, nearly 70 percent of Nevadans think state officials should "consider the consequences of phasing out the Nevada test site and begin to plan ways to make up for the loss of jobs and income" that would result from a nuclear test ban.

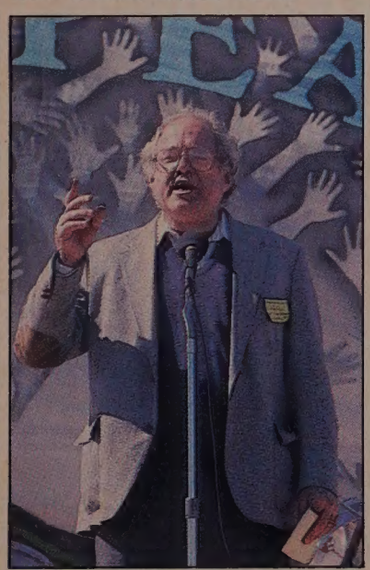
Conversely, a poll taken the year before showed 60 percent of Nevadans favoring nuclear testing.

But this good news should not lull people into a false sense of security, Cocks said. "We have to work harder than ever to keep the pressure on."

APT said its nonviolent philosophy is working with the locals as well as the police. One small sign: the restaurants in Indian Springs—a truck stop on the way to the test site—now feature "protester specials."

*—Robin Jenkins*

**Rev. William Sloane Coffin**



# BLIPS...

**THE WAY YOU WALK THAT WALK** **International Peace Walk**, the outgrowth of the Great Peace March that sponsored a joint U.S.-Soviet walk in the Soviet Union last summer, can't sit still. This summer the group is planning two separate month-long walks, one in the United States (from June 14 to July 18) and the other in the Soviet Union (from August 15 to September 18). There's room for 200 Americans for each trek (and 200 Soviets, of course.) If you want to promote U.S.-Soviet friendship and get some exercise at the same time, contact IPW, P.O. Box 53412, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 232-7055.

**SWEET HOME CHICAGO** Visitors to Chicago are now greeted with signs proclaiming the city's status as the largest nuclear weapons free zone (NFZ) in the nation. The city is posting about two dozen 4 by 8 feet NFZ signs on freeways and streets entering the city. In addition to requiring the signs, the NFZ ordinance—which the city council unanimously approved more than a year ago—sets fines for the manufacture or storage of nuclear weapons or their components and establishes a Peace Conversion Commission to prepare a plan for converting nuclear weapons-related industry to civilian use. For more information, contact **Ron Freund**, principal author of the ordinance and former executive director of Clergy and Laity Concerned, at (312) 869-2424.

**AMAZINGLY UNKNOWN** Although it probably never opened in your hometown, a number of our readers say it deserves an Oscar. **Amazing Grace and Chuck**, an uplifting film about a 12-year-old little league pitcher and a big-league basketball player who courageously give up their respective "careers" to protest nuclear weapons, is now available at your local video store. *Nuclear Times* tried to bring the film, which stars **Gregory Peck** as the president of the United States, to Washington, D.C., last summer, but Tri-Star Pictures pulled the plug on *Amazing Grace* before it ever made it to most major cities.

**JAILHOUSE ROCK** Arrests for nonviolent resistance to nuclear weapons jumped 60 percent from 1986 to 1987, according to Co-editors **Jack and Felice Cohen-Joppa** of *the Nuclear Resister*, a Tucson, Arizona-based newsletter. The number of arrests last year topped 5,300, roughly equalling the arrests reported in 1983, the year of the Euromissile deployment that sparked massive demonstrations in Europe and the United States. Nearly half of all of the 1987 arrests occurred at the Nevada nuclear weapons test site. For more information, contact *the Nuclear Resister*, P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733.

**HOUSES NOT BOMBS** Have you noticed more homeless people on the streets in recent years? Well, there's a reason. Over the past seven years, while military spending has doubled, Congress has cut federal funds for housing by 78 percent. To protest this national disgrace, the **Jobs with Peace Campaign** is organizing a day of nationwide demonstrations on Saturday, June 4. To kick off the event, the campaign will build a house at the Pentagon the day before. For more information, contact **Michael Brown** at the Jobs with Peace Campaign, 76 Summer St., Boston, MA 02110, (617) 338-5783. □

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# AMERICA, GOD AND THE BOMB

*The Legacy of Ronald Reagan*

**F.H. Knelman**

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ELECTIONS/DAVID LEWIS

# LOOKING FOR RESULTS

## PEACE MOVEMENT PACS ARE LOOKING FOR WINNERS IN THE UPCOMING GENERAL ELECTION

The countdown to the 1988 general election has begun. Public attention is focused on the race for the White House, but the future of arms control depends just as much on key races for Congress, where the policies of any new president will sink or swim.

Even as Senate campaigns move into high gear, some peace activists are frustrated that nuclear weapons issues "won't make the difference." They fear Ronald Reagan's apparent conversion to treaty-making will mislead voters and take an election issue away from Democratic Senate candidates. Some also feel their work in 1986 has been betrayed; the return of the Senate to Democratic control has not brought a sea-change on arms control.

"We helped elect all these pro-arms control senators and still lost a vote to cut Star Wars funding by one," SANE/FREEZE lobbyist Mark Harrison says. "At best, Congress has put Reagan's nuclear buildup on hold."

Several new senators elected in 1984 and 1986 have made nuclear weapons issues a priority, including Tom Harkin (D-Iowa), Tim Wirth (D-Colo.) and Tom Daschle (D-S.D.). But others, such as Richard Shelby (D-Ala.), who joined progressive majorities in the fight against Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork, have not actively opposed Pentagon priorities. "No matter who you elect to Congress, you have to hold their feet to the fire and remain an active force," Harkin told the national meeting of Physicians for Social Responsibility in March.

**Declining Interest?** Peace activists' approach to congressional races has had to change as nuclear weapons issues have declined over the last few years on the list of factors determining voter preference. Polls in 1986 showed only small minorities choosing Senate candidates on the basis of their arms control positions. On the other hand, Reagan's trips in the 1986 campaign seeking to make Senate races a referendum on his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) failed to bring Republicans victory.

Voter interest in defense issues has continued to wane. Recent focus group polling by the World Policy Institute and others has shown that in 1988 economic concerns are rising and fear of the Soviet threat is declining. Once again, Americans will be voting their pocketbooks in November.

Although arms control issues may not help elect the current crop of candidates, PeacePAC Director Martin Hamburger thinks the peace movement can help them develop positive arms control positions in their campaigns. "It's nice if candidates articulate our issues, but their job is to win. We do give candidates advice on how to deal with arms control issues as they campaign, but we've matured enough to realize that realities on the ground dictate how the campaign is run."

Lobbyists also note that close working relationships with those House members the peace community helped elect will improve prospects for arms control down the road. "They are friends who recognize a friendly face and a sympathetic ear," says WAND's Assistant Political Director Suzy Kerr, "so they seek us out with questions or come to us for advice."

**Clear Choices.** One Senate race in California has featured nuclear weapons policies as a prominent campaign issue. Incumbent Republican Sen. Pete Wilson is being challenged by Democrat Leo McCarthy. Even though California has received more SDI contracts than any other state, McCarthy opposes high SDI funding. He ordered 10,000 extra copies of his endorsement profile from Council for a Livable World to distribute in his information packet, and early McCarthy ads criticize Wilson's lukewarm support of the INF Treaty.

A statewide coalition of local professionals from Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control is developing issue materials that may aid McCarthy's campaign. Its materials describe the high cost of the arms race and promote a concept of national security that does not rely on weapons. Shannon Mong of Los Angeles/PSR says participating groups can tell California voters that they can choose between spending money on the arms race or on sound health and educational services.

Two other Senate races present tougher choices for peace groups. In Vermont, Republican Congressman Jim Jeffords is running against Democrat Bill Gray for the seat

of retiring Republican Robert Stafford. Jeffords' House voting record on arms control issues is superb, but some PACs fear a Jefford win may help the Republicans regain a majority in the Senate, which would be a disaster for an arms-control-minded administration. In Rhode Island, incumbent Republican John Chafee, who has a good record on arms control, faces a strong challenge from popular Democratic Lt. Gov. Richard Licht.

By March, Freeze Voter was still debating who to endorse in both races. "Where we have local activists, we rarely endorse against their wishes," explained National Field Director Joe Sternlieb, adding that Vermont and Rhode Island activists themselves are deeply divided.

But Council for a Livable World (CLW) decided to support both Republicans. "We believe in sticking with our leaders and sticking with our friends," said CLW Legislative Director John Isaacs. "And it's important to maintain and expand bipartisan support for nuclear arms control."

**House of a Different Color.** Directors of the peace community's political action committees (PACs) have noted that few veteran representatives are retiring, which means there will be very few open seat races in the House. Therefore, they have turned their attention to repeat challengers to marginal incumbents. In Washington's 1st Congressional District, Democrat Reese Lindquist lost a narrow 1986 race to incumbent John Miller, 51 percent to 49 percent. Lindquist, an educator and local football star, proved an able fundraiser and an energetic campaigner who made Miller's support of aid to the Nicaraguan contras a major issue.

PeacePAC has made the Lindquist-Miller race a top priority in 1988 and is already raising money for Lindquist.

In Indiana's 3rd district, lawyer and peace activist Tom Ward lost by only 47 votes to Republican incumbent John Hiler in 1986 with little peace movement support. Pollsters now give him a good chance to win in what could be a Democratic year.

One new challenger getting a lot of attention is Michigan Democratic State Senator Lana Pollack, who is trying to unseat Ann Arbor Republican Carl Pursell. Central America activist Dean Baker lost badly to Pursell in 1986 and may challenge Pollack in the Democratic primary. But according to Pollock's campaign manager Barbara Fuller, Pollack "is expecting major grassroots help from local peace activists to counter Pursell's million-dollar effort." "Baker is not a viable candidate," Fuller maintains. "He spent only $35,000 last time, but Lana has the districtwide support necessary to beat Pursell in November." Fuller says it is a sign of PACs' maturity that they are backing the peace candidate who can win instead of Baker, the ideological standard-bearer.

**Learning How to PAC.** PeacePAC and CLW will raise $2 million for House and Senate candidates in 1988, but arms control PACs are making other kinds of contributions as well. Freeze Voter is cooperating with CLW to assemble and distribute booklets outlining the arms control positions of all presidential candidates.

UCS is making its first venture into voter education work this election cycle, trying to build long term electoral strength on arms control issues. The group has assembled "road shows" featuring speeches for general audiences, training talks for activists, and radio and television interviews.

"Voters are usually people who read the papers and watch the news," says UCS Field Coordinator Dianne Russell. "So we're trying to create news, educate the media and shape opinion through the press."

The project completed a whirlwind blitz through the South just before Super Tuesday. One road show brought UCS President Bud Ris to Georgia Tech for a major address on Star Wars. Ris was not just preaching to the converted, since Georgia Tech receives the bulk of Star Wars research funding in the state. Ris and local activists briefed the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution's* editorial board and had a lengthy meeting with Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young. Young solicited the group's suggestions for questions he should ask Democratic presidential candidates at a Dallas TV debate the next day.

"We're finding local officials very interested in learning more about INF and the latest developments in arms control," says Russell. "The issues are in flux now and they want information about what's around the bend, especially since they rarely get to talk about federal issues. They appreciate us seeking them out to learn how the issues cut in their areas, what themes and approaches will reach people."

UCS's short-term objective has been to get these issues raised in the presidential campaigns, making use of the access to candidates and campaigns that local elected officials have. But the program also seeks to expand the electoral base of arms control support beyond members of UCS over the long term to thoughtful people. "Many of these same officials will be tomorrow's congressional candidates," says Russell. "That could be the biggest payoff." □

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*David Lewis is a lobbyist for the Physicians for Social Responsibility.*


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**Spencer R. Weart**

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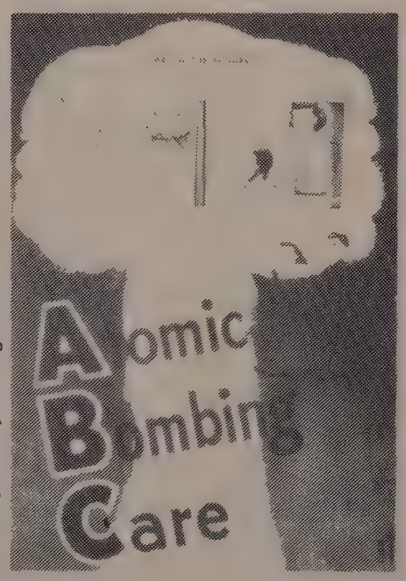


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LETTER FROM EUROPE/BEN WEBB

# AFTER THE INF TREATY

## EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT SEEKS TO BLOCK NATO PLANS TO DEPLOY MODERNIZED WEAPONS

West Europeans breathed a collective sigh of relief when Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty late last year. The Great Fear had subsided. The missiles whose deployment sparked millions to demonstrate in the peace "uprisings" of the early 1980s are being withdrawn. For the first time in history, missiles will be "crushed . . . burned . . . [and] cut longitudinally," according to the graphic instructions in the INF Treaty protocols.

Lawrence Freedman, professor of War Studies at King's College, London, gives the peace movement much of the credit for superpower adoption of the INF Treaty: "Without the peace movement, or the anti-nuclear movement as I prefer to call it, you probably would not have had the zero option. It forced the issue onto the agenda, and that was healthy."

John Palmer, author of *Europe Without America*, agrees. "Most people will accept the truth," he says. "NATO made its original dual-track decision in 1979—deploying cruise and Pershing while offering to negotiate their withdrawal—as a ploy, never imagining that the Soviets would take up the offer. NATO was forced into this ploy by pressure from the West European peace mobilizations."

Christine Merkel: From now on NATO will take a softer approach with deployments.

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**New & Improved Nukes.** At the very moment the peace movement is celebrating a partial victory, however, NATO is planning to "modernize" its existing stock of European-based nuclear weapons, deploying air- and sea-launched cruise missiles ostensibly to compensate for the land-based cruise and Pershing 1A and II missiles destroyed under the INF Treaty (see sidebar). In actuality, NATO had decided to deploy these new weapons systems in 1983. The INF agreement merely spurred conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic to push for earlier deployment—to make sure NATO can still bomb the Soviet Union with European-based missiles.

The United States and NATO plan to deploy two to three times as many air- and sea-launched cruise missiles as the ground-based missiles destroyed under the INF agreement, according to research by the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) based on Pentagon and congressional documents. NATO will also increase the number of short-range, or battlefield, nuclear rocket launchers from 90 to more than 600, while increasing their range from 75 miles to just below the INF limit of 300 miles.

The new deployments will be at least, if not more, significant than the missiles they replace. Even so, these plans thus far have failed to spark public opposition the way deployments did in the early 1980s.

"NATO is not going to repeat the mistake it made in 1979," says Christine Merkel, chief adviser on disarmament for the "Rainbow Group" of Greens and minority parties in the European Parliament. "The decision to deploy cruise and Pershing missiles scared the Europeans and gave them something visible to rally against." And in the clash between water cannons and crowds, she says, European governments have realized the crowds may come out on top. "From now on NATO will take a softer approach."

This softer approach is taking the form of what Merkel calls "a very fragmented set of deployments—unlike the large, visible cruise and Pershing missile deployments. If NATO deploys sea- and air-launched cruise missiles to compensate for missiles removed by INF, public attention will have to shift to the naval arena. This is a blind spot. European peace movements, with the notable exception of the Scandinavians, have little experience fighting naval deployments."

NATO plans to compensate for Pershing 1A missiles (above) destroyed under INF.

**Adieu to Angst?** For Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), one of Europe's largest peace organizations, there is also the specter of 1963. The partial test ban treaty signed that year took the wind out of a burgeoning anti-nuclear movement's sails. In a short time, a powerful mass movement was reduced to a rump of Quakers and left-wingers. Twenty-five years later, some fear the INF Treaty could undermine a movement that only re-emerged less than a decade ago.

Andreas Zumach, a correspondent for *Die TagesZeitung*, a Green Party daily in Berlin, believes complacency produced by INF will make it difficult for the peace movement to resist new deployments. "Mobilization around this issue is a big problem for the movement," he says. "I'm not betting on angst as a stimulator."

**Discreet Disarray.** Although the peace movement cannot count on mobilizing the

same numbers it could in the early 1980s, neither can NATO count on the united front it once had. Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives and the political thaw in Soviet bloc countries have sown confusion in the Atlantic Alliance. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher allowed as much when she reportedly told a private meeting of NATO ambassadors in mid-February that "the Russian bear was easier to deal with when it looked more like a bear."

Thatcher—unlike some other West European leaders—still sees a bear. At the Brussels summit in March she issued a sharp warning about Soviet "expansionism" and, as she has in the recent past, insisted on modernizing NATO battlefield weapons rather than eliminating them.

The West Germans, however, are now eager to relax tensions with the East. And West German relations with East Germany are warming. Even die-hard cold warriors such as Bavarian right-wing leader Franz Josef Strauss are having second thoughts. He recently declared that "the post-war era has ended."

And, for good reason, West German public opinion leans heavily against new battlefield nuclear weapons deployments. After all, the bulk of the new weapons would be stationed on German soil. As Volker Ruehe, a top-ranking defense expert in West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the senior partner in West Germany's coalition government, says, "The shorter the range, the deader the German."

Yet the West German government's treatment of nuclear weapons in its country has been inconsistent. Prior to the U.S.-Soviet agreement on INF, West Germans pushed hard to retain "their" Pershing 1A missiles; now they favor eliminating short-range missiles altogether.

The rift within NATO at the Brussels summit was papered over in the final memorandum. The English version stated that nuclear weapons "should be kept up-to-date where necessary." But Kohl interpreted the document in a different way, declaring to the press: "We need weapons, but when and where we shall have to decide later."

Thatcher was unable to force specific commitments in part because Reagan had agreed with Kohl at a Washington meeting two weeks earlier that there was no immediate need to make modernization decisions. This does not mean that modernization will not take place, only that it is postponed. U.S. Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci told the press earlier this year that modernization is essential.

*Die TagesZeitung* correspondent Zumach, commenting on the West German government's position at the Brussels summit, said: "The peace movement has managed to carry debate into the political parties—including the ruling party, the CDU. The government now finds itself using some of the same arguments as the peace movement."

"I think European governments are nervous—very nervous," says author John Palmer. "And that is particularly true of the British. Look at the zeal with which Thatcher has thrown herself into denouncing the Soviet Union. What she fears is the psychological impact of denuclearization. The polls are running against her on this issue: people don't perceive a Soviet threat anymore." *(Continued on page 15)*

# THOROUGHLY MODERN NATO

If NATO has its way, the INF Treaty will soon become a dead letter. NATO plans to blunt, if not negate, the impact of the treaty in two ways: by "compensating" for missiles removed by the agreement and by "modernizing" existing weapons not covered by the treaty. Both of these actions add up to the same thing: new and more deadly nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

NATO's High Level Group of civilian nuclear specialists has developed a range of options to compensate for the loss of cruise and Pershing missiles. These proposals were cobbled together after the superpower summit at Reykjavik in October 1986. The list of possible compensations, or "adjustments" in NATO terminology, were to be decided on at the Nuclear Planning Group meeting in Kolding, Denmark, in late April.

As compensation, NATO is considering redeploying F-111 fighter bombers equipped with a new "stand-off" nuclear missile. This would be a stopgap, since the F-111 is due to be replaced or augmented by the F-15E Strike Eagle aircraft, which would be equipped with a new U.S.-made, nuclear-capable cruise missile. The Strike Eagle is due to be deployed beginning in 1989, before the last of the land-based cruise missiles in Western Europe is to be dismantled under INF Treaty.

In addition, NATO is discussing transferring to its command up to 380 nuclear sea-launched cruise missiles now being deployed on U.S. Navy ships in European waters.

Plans to deploy new battlefield nuclear weapons date back to October 1983, when NATO defense ministers met at Montebello, Quebec, and decided to modernize all the alliance's nuclear weapons. At the time it was widely noted that NATO had decided to reduce unilaterally its stock of short-range weapons from about 6,000 to 4,600. Less publicized was the fact that the weapons in the NATO arsenal would be replaced by new, more powerful weapons.

Heading the list of new weapons were 925 new nuclear artillery shells, which have a longer range than the shells they replace. New 8-inch shells have already been introduced by U.S. and West German forces. In addition, NATO agreed to replace aging Lance missiles, which have a 75-mile range, with missiles that have a range of about 300 miles and can be mounted on some 600 mobile missile launchers. The U.S. Congress has already been asked to approve the conversion of these launchers from a conventional missile system to a nuclear-capable one. NATO also plans to replace some of its free-fall, aircraft-carried nuclear bombs with cruise missiles. —*B.W.*

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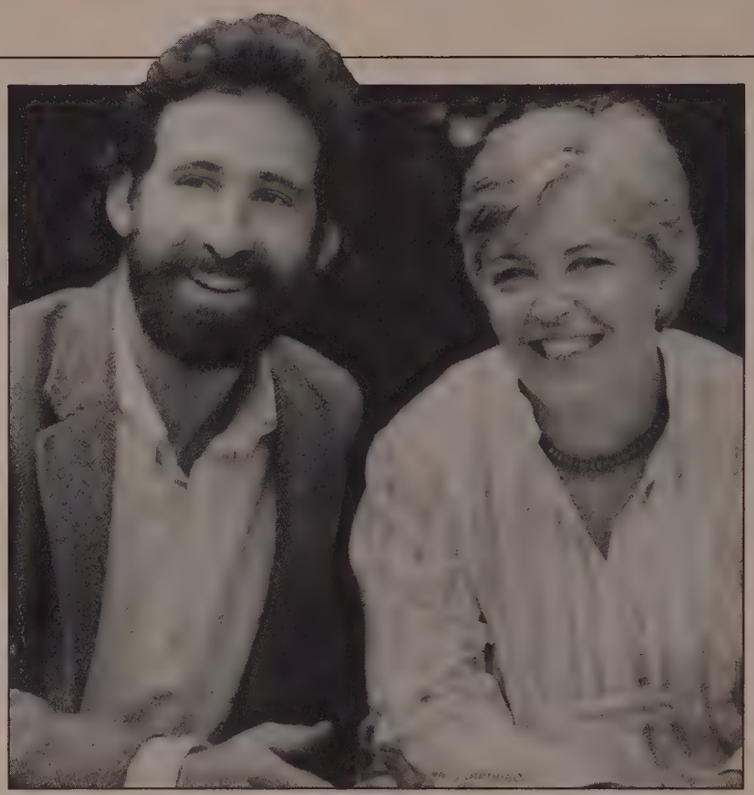
IDEAS THAT WORK/WILLIAM TRIPLETT

# INSTANT ACTIVISTS

## 20/20 VISION HELPS PEOPLE DO THEIR PART IN JUST 20 MINUTES A MONTH

It started with the same old story, but then led to 20/20 Vision—the world's first peace lobby franchise.

"It was *so* depressing," says Lois Barber, one of 20/20's founders, recalling the moment when the need for drastic change crystalized for her. The time: 1983, the place: Vancouver, the event: a demonstration in which 130,000 people marched in support of peace. "All these people showed up, full of energy and commitment, but when the march was over they just went home. They had nothing to *do*."



**Jeremy Sherman and Lois Barber, co-directors of 20/20 Vision.**

Active in the nuclear freeze movement since 1980, Barber, an art teacher, was familiar with the perpetual problem of trying to find ways for people to translate their commitment into concrete action. "We knew the educational side of the movement had succeeded," she says, "because most people we talked to did feel that the arms race had to stop."

How specifically to stop it remained the question. Shortly after the Vancouver march, Barber, still at a loss for an answer, moved to Amherst, Massachusetts, and joined the local freeze group. Through various actions and events Barber and the group discovered that people responded positively when the issue was personalized. For example, when the Air Force planned to construct a Ground Wave Emergency Network tower in Amherst [see page 7], the group mobilized the community to insist that the Air Force give a full account of the tower's purpose (i.e. enhancing communications in a nuclear attack). The community opposed the tower, and the Air Force had to look elsewhere.

"The real success of the action," Barber says, "is that we realized we had a powerful tool in our hands—gaining truth through direct questioning."

Barber started thinking of ways to sustain the momentum. "One of the biggest problems," she says, "was trying to explain the complex, abstract and overwhelming nuclear issues to people in everyday language, and then give them something to do about it." When the group met in January 1986, Barber proposed what would become the foundation of the 20/20 Vision project—that it contact experts in peace organizations and find out exactly what one citizen could do in just 20 minutes each month to stop the arms race.

"A lot of the others were skeptical of the idea," says Barber, "but I was convinced we should try it."

The core group of six—including Barber—started calling experts at local, state and national levels. They then shared the recommendations they collected, sorted out the one that related most strongly to their voting district (Massachusetts Congressional District #1), and then typed up a postcard describing the issue and the action required (usually a phone call or a letter to the appropriate elected or appointed official). They then mailed the postcards to community subscribers who paid an annual rate of either $20 or whatever they could afford to be part of 20/20 Vision.

One of the first postcards concerned the renewal of congressional funding for refitting Trident submarines with new missiles. The card suggested a call to Rep. Silvio Conte, the district's representative, asking that he vote against renewal. Of 450 subscribers, 400 made calls. Conte was one of only two Republicans to vote against new funding.

"When you're a lobbyist," Barber says, "you can never claim full responsibility because you're just a piece of it. But our Washington sources told us that no one else was lobbying Conte on this issue."

Perhaps more indicative of 20/20's success was the 400 of 450 response, an unusually high percentage of return. It was more than enough to catch the eye of the Peace Development Fund, which inadvertently played a crucial role in the growth of 20/20.

In August 1986, Jeremy Sherman, a West Coast peace activist, was looking for a solution to the same problem Barber had already identified. His search led him to PDF, which referred him to 20/20.

"It was just the thing I was looking for," Sherman says. "I found its best attribute was that it could tailor messages for a particular congressional district."

Sherman, who had some marketing training and came from a family of franchise operators, joined forces with Barber, and the two of them decided to give 20/20 a national scope. It was an innovative move, for, as Sherman points out, "It's like a franchise because we're preserving the essential attribute of a service yet making it flexible for each congressional district."

Service is the key word. The 20/20 approach, bearing some similarities to that of Amnesty International, regards the citizen more as a customer than an altruist. "A lot of advocacy," says Sherman, "appeals to altruism with people saying things like, "We need you! This is important!" We're saying we know you already want to do something, so we're going to find you the best and easiest way to do it." In 20 minutes or less each month.

"I think it's an excellent idea," says

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Ralph Nader, the nation's best-known consumer advocate. "What they're doing is tapping into a huge segment of our population that has been by-passed because the normal ticket of admission to other civic groups has been way too much a demand on time and energy. One of the real contributions here is that this is a very creative recruiting technique because it reaches out to people without burdening them."

The recruiting works almost like a pyramid, from top to bottom. At the top is the 20/20 National Project, headed by Sherman and Barber. Among other things, the national project seeks out people across the country to start up new district projects. There are eight currently up and running and another six in development.

Sherman and Barber help local projects get started by supplying them with a number of resources, such as customized software and promotional materials. In exchange, the local project core group agrees to preserve the integrity of the 20/20 service, altering only those characteristics required to meet the needs of its congressional district. The core group then recruits subscribers in the district community. Once the district project gets underway Sherman and Barber let the core group run its program as it sees fit.

The flexibility of each district is what makes 20/20 unique in that it not only serves the individual needs of district projects, but is also open to any peace organization that might have an issue that calls for popular action. If, for example, PDF wanted to get a message out, it could go through any or all the 20/20 district projects so long as the core groups thought that the message—and action on it—were relevant to their subscribers. As such, 20/20 works as a freelance lobbyist at no charge.

Congress is not the only focus of 20/20's lobbying efforts. As Barber says, "Part of the challenge for district projects is to think beyond the legislature. We've recommended 'actions' to be sent to heads of media outlets, such as the presidents of ABC, NBC and CBS, or even CEOs of corporations."

Beyond the benefits of diversity and flexibility, the 20/20 approach also offers a new perspective for the advocate. "Once you take advocacy out of the realm of plea and into the realm of service," says Sherman, "it's not only much easier to market, it's even more dignified because you're serving, not pleading." □

*William Triplett is a Washington, D.C.-based freelancer who frequently writes on political issues.*

EUROPE/Continued from page 13

**Strengths & Weaknesses.** Despite current West German reluctance, West European peace activists expect modernization to happen in one form or another, and the main question is how to confront it.

Christine Merkel says that if the peace movement is to be effective against the new deployments, it must adapt. "The whole debate is on a new, more political plane now," she says.

Palmer echoes this sentiment: "I think we're into a broader game—more intimately linked to foreign policy."

Mient Jan Faber of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Committee (IKV) is not willing to be pessimistic: "Look, I don't think we can bring back the atmosphere of the early '80s. But the changes since then have given us the opportunity to work on other things, particularly the future of Europe in the broadest sense. We are on the brink of a decision of great importance: Are we to have a new detente? Are we to have a Europe united around a 'Eurobomb' and the Western European Union? Or will things be left as they are?"

Zumach suggests that to be effective in the next stage of debate, the peace movement must overcome some of the attitudes of the early 1980s. "I can't say I'm unhappy that fear will not be a key element in the next stage of the movement. The fear of the early '80s went together with a high degree of Eurocentricity, a latent anti-Americanism, a submerged nationalism and an unwillingness to consider Western Europe's own role in perpetuating the Cold War. On top of this the movement was tempted to become weapons-fixated. The problem, remember, is a political one. The weapons are instruments of politics."

In any case, whether or not the peace movement is immediately effective in blocking NATO's plans to replace INF missiles, as British historian Keith McClelland points out, the movement has become "a permanent presence."

"In the early 1960s there were really only two real, mass-based peace movements: in Japan and in Britain," he says. "Now there is an international movement. I think the West European peace movements have dovetailed with other social movements—with feminism and with concern for the environment. This is evident in the whole Green phenomenon that has taken root in much of Europe. This is all to say that we are part of the landscape. We're not going to fade away." □

*Ben Webb is an editor of the London-based* END Journal.


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# Hollywood PEACENIKS

*Actors and filmmakers in the United States and the Soviet Union are joining forces to break down silver-screen stereotypes.*

BY ROB SULLIVAN

Judd Nelson has played the rebel with a heart, the billionaire with a hit list and the lover with the gee-whiz grin. More recently, he took on a new role: cultural ambassador and see-it-for-yourself political tourist to the Soviet Union.

"I strongly felt I'd been fed a load of crap by my government," said Nelson after returning from a SANE/FREEZE-sponsored young actors' tour to Leningrad and Moscow last October. "I wanted to see it from the other point of view to see whether I'd in fact been fed a load of crap."

What the star of *The Breakfast Club* brought back was a history lesson that confirmed his doubts that the Soviets are implacable adversaries bent on our destruction. "They lost what—20 million people in World War II? They sure as shit don't want to fight us."

Nelson and his fellow up-and-coming actors are not the only Hollywood celebs to visit the Soviet Union over the past year. All of the sudden, after years of cinema Soviet-bashing, the hottest ticket in Tinseltown is a cultural junket to the "Evil Empire." Stereotypes are being stripped away, co-production deals are being "pacted," *E.T.* and *Gone with the Wind* are playing to overflow crowds in Leningrad and Moscow, and Soviets are queuing up to ogle Richard Gere and Daryl Hannah. Hopefully it all adds up to a world in which the "enemy" has a face and a personality and thus is more difficult to liquidate with a touch of the nuclear button.

The Soviets Judd Nelson met with during his trip to Moscow were not the same people American filmgoers have been watching over the past 40 years. Ever since the beginning of the Cold War, Hollywood films have typecast the enemy: he speaks with a thick Russian accent; he is cold, mechanical, ruthless and almost demonic in his drive to obliterate Western society.

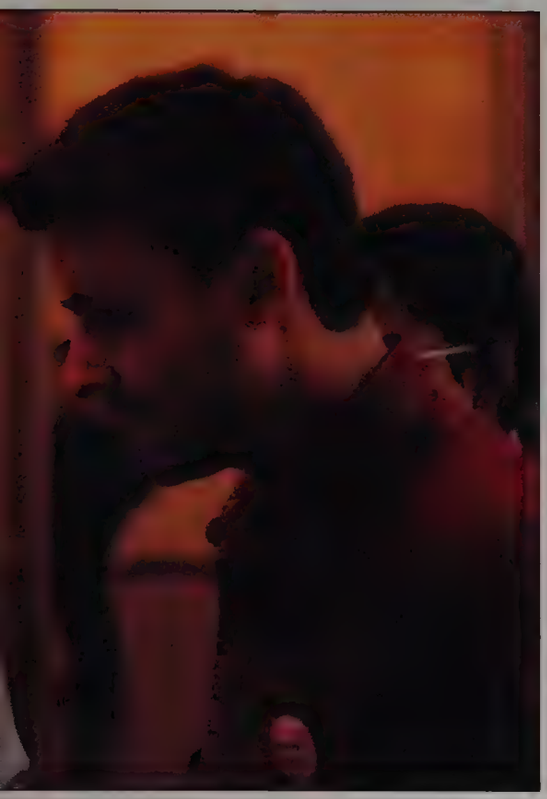
The invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the stand-tall attitude of the incoming Reagan administration heralded a new wave of anti-Soviet cinema; in movies such as *Red Dawn, Invasion U.S.A., Rambo, Rocky IV, No Way Out* and the TV movie *Amerika,* Hollywood presented an enemy that mirrored the image invoked by Reagan in his "Evil Empire" speech. At times it seemed that Hollywood was merely the propaganda arm of the Pentagon, with ex-actor Reagan serving as middleman, calling his old pals in the studios and ordering up whatever film might suit his latest ideological crusade.

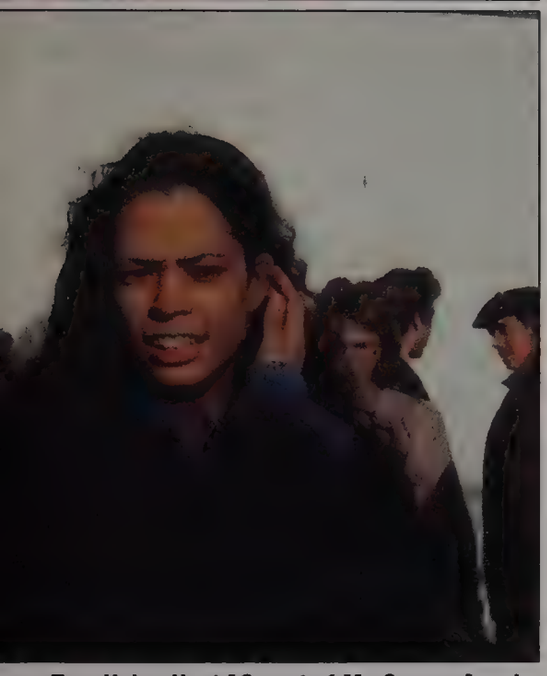
But now, with the advent of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, coupled with progress in arms control talks, the proverbial tide is turning: Hollywood is just saying no—not only to drugs, dear Nancy, but also to anti-Sovietism. The U.S. film industry is trying to educate itself about the realities of life and politics in the Soviet Union. Spearheading this movement are three groups: the American-Soviet Film Initiative based in both Malibu and Moscow, SANE/FREEZE in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco-based Film and Theater Diplomacy. These organizations are at the forefront of a cultural detente that may have profound implications for the peace movement and the way in which we perceive the Soviets and our world.

In a flurry of cross-cultural activity, a number of well-known members of the American film community have visited the Soviet Union in the past year, including Nelson, Carrie Fisher, Keith Carradine, Marlee Matlin, Matt Dillon, Dennis Weaver, Richard Gere and Daryl Hannah. Even America's greatest matinee idol, Robert Redford, may be taking his films to the Soviet Union within the next year.

While these celebrities are rubbing shoulders with Russians, others are work-

*Rob Sullivan is a freelance writer living in Los Angeles.*





**Top: Helen Hunt [*Secret of My Success*] and Judd Nelson soak up Soviet culture at Leningrad's Hermitage Museum. Left: Esai Morales [*La Bamba*] rocks out at Gorky Park. Right: Erica Gimpel [*Fame*] tours Moscow.**

ing to broaden the American public's understanding of the Soviet Union. In mid-March, Turner Program Services aired *Portrait of the Soviet Union*, a seven-hour documentary that it promoted with the slogan, "Most people only know the Soviet Union by one Red Square mile. We'd like to show them the other 8,600,382." Location scouts for the ABC sitcom *Head of the Class* visited the Soviet Union at the end of February to explore the possibility of shooting some episodes there. Lawrence Schiller, producer of the TV movies *Peter the Great* and *The Executioner's Song*, will soon shoot the made-for-TV movie *Chernobyl* on location in the Soviet Union. And on February 26, Alexander Kamshalov, chairman of the state committee of the Soviet film industry, announced in Hollywood that he and members of the American Film Marketing Association are working out plans to open a theater in Los Angeles and Moscow that will exclusively show movies from each other's countries.

Well . . . so what? Who cares if an ABC sitcom is shot in Volgograd? How is Judd Nelson partying with some Soviet poets going to stop the arms race? Is cinema, that elusively powerful art form that brought us *Rambo* as well as *Dr. Strangelove*, really going to bring us any closer to a true sense of security where technicolor dreams are populated by a world free of nuclear arms?

### One World

A scene from *One World:*

Mary Stuart Masterson *(Some Kind of Wonderful, Gardens of Stone)* and a 16-year-old Russian boy on a Moscow street:

MASTERSON: We have been made to feel that the threat is not at home, but abroad, in the Soviet Union. How do you feel about the threat?

BOY: The threat. You know, every day I wake up, and most of the Russian kids—we kind of feel like: I count down the days I have left . . . because you don't know. You don't know when the war is going to be started. Each day, we get closer and closer to the edge.

Wiping away, or at least pulling back that "edge" is the goal of *One World,* a video by Douglas Ross and Bruce Toms, both 26, produced under the nonprofit umbrella of SANE/FREEZE. Watching a 10-minute clip from the video in Ross's West Hollywood apartment is a jolting experience. Newsreel footage of Lenin speaking in Red Square is juxtaposed with images of Eisenhower warning Congress of the "continuing reliance of the Soviet-Communists on military force, of the power of their weapons, of their present resistance to realistic armaments limitations, and of their continuing effort to dominate or intimidate free nations." A mushroom cloud blossoms across the screen, then vanishes in a rush of static and screeching drums. A quick flash-forward and Judd Nelson, Helen Hunt, Esai Morales, Helen Slater, Erica Gimpel and Mary Stuart Masterson are walking down the sidewalks of Leningrad. *One World* pops and flits from image to image in a frenetic high-tech virtuoso display. Music bounces and bangs along underneath the picture—any MTV producer would drool over this video.

The anti-nuke message of *One World* is not lost in this blaze of technical wizardy. As Judd Nelson says, the video cuts through the "great double-speak mill, no matter what country you come from."

Tom Seigel, former development director of SANE/FREEZE, came up with the idea for *One World* last year. "I was frustrated with the nuclear debates in Congress always being the same," says Seigel, 27. He wanted to reach out to the youth of America in an innovative and exciting way, and what better way to do that than through a rock video featuring the young stars of Hollywood. Nelson and other Brat Packers agreed to travel with Seigel to the Soviet Union, shoot a video there and then make personal appearances with the video in high schools across the country.

But if the movie stars were to educate American teenagers, the movie stars had to be educated first. So Seigel set up a weekend workshop last fall at Arden Homestead, the old Averell Harriman estate north of New York City. Dr. Robert Bowman, former head of Air Force Space Systems, lectured the thespians on the inadequacies of Star Wars; Cora Weiss of the Riverside Disarmament Program brought them up to date on peace activities across the globe. They were even "empowered" by Andrea Ayvazian of the Peace Development Fund and Ira Shorr, national field organizer for SANE/FREEZE.

But no amount of lecturing or empowerment drills could prepare the actors and actresses for the 20 Russian poets who boarded their Aeroflot plane in Paris on their trip to Moscow last October. "We all started talking and pretty soon they pulled out this big bottle of vodka," recalls Bruce Toms. "Ten minutes later they pulled out two accordions and they were singing and dancing in the back of the airplane. We were thinking: 'This is the repressed society that we've been afraid of all our lives?'"

The trip left other lasting impressions as well. Judd Nelson says he returned to the United States "definitely loving America more. But I didn't love the Soviet Union any less. Our Constitution and Bill of Rights are great. Less so are the machinations of American big business."

Nelson and the actors on the SANE/FREEZE trek all say they came back to Hollywood with a renewed commitment to resist acting in films that either slander Soviets or, as Nelson says, "exploit our right-wing tendencies toward American Manifest Destiny."

Bruce Toms and Douglas Ross are working around the clock, trying to put the finishing touches on *One World* so it can be

PHOTOS OF SANE/FREEZE TOUR © ROBERT MUSIL 1987

**Mary Stuart Masterson [*Gardens of Stone, Some Kind of Wonderful*] talks to Moscow teenagers about the nuclear threat during filming of the *One World* documentary video.**

part of high school curricula this fall. "We've all been raised under the thumb of the nuclear arms race," says Toms. "Our school systems have not provided the place for us to talk about it."

Perhaps instead of squatting under the desks for H-bomb drills, as school children did in the 1950s and 1960s, students of the late 1980s will listen to Helen Slater, star of *Supergirl, Ruthless People* and the upcoming *Sticky Fingers*, as she says, "Peace on Earth is more important than any differences over political ideologies."

### The Entertainment Summits

The fog is lifting off the ocean and the wild sunflowers are in bloom. California ranch-style homes jut out from the Malibu bluffs and ice plant cascades from sun decks toward the droning traffic of the Pacific Coast Highway. It's hard to imagine that one of the nerve centers of Soviet-American cultural detente is hidden behind one of these sun-bleached walls, but it's true.

The American-Soviet Film Initiative (ASFI) is the brainchild of Mark Gerzon, Harvard grad, author and president of Mediators Productions, one of the numberless independent film companies that dot Los Angeles County. As he walks from his rather modest hillside tract home to the sprawling house that serves as ASFI headquarters, Gerzon, 39, recounts the genesis of the American-Soviet film exchanges—or, as they've come to be known, the Entertainment Summits.

"In December of '86 I asked [Soviet Filmmakers Association President] Elem Klimov if he'd be interested in a summit. I gave him three conditions. One: 'If you'll come to the West with clips showing how you've stereotyped Americans, we're willing to show clips about how we've stereotyped you.' The second stipulation was that he come with a high-level delegation including himself. Third, I told him: 'You've got to invite an American delegation to come to the Soviet Union for a similar summit.' . . . and remember this was not [a time of] detente here. This was when *Rocky* was still riding high, Reagan was calling the Soviet Union the 'Evil Empire' and this town was doing very little with the Soviets at all." Klimov agreed to Gerzon's prerequisites, and in March of 1987 the Soviet delegation arrived in Hollywood.

Gerzon saw the Entertainment Summit as being mutually beneficial: "Klimov saw it as an opportunity to make a statement against censorship and state control and for freedom of expression. I saw it as an opportunity to raise filmmaking beyond the level of commercial Soviet-bashing of *Rocky* and *Rambo*."

Summit I was a success. The Soviet delegation viewed American clips depicting Russians as cold, inhumane and deceitful. American filmmakers looked at Russian clips portraying Americans as impulsive, rude, loudmouthed and flaky. Soviet television commentator Vladimir Posner, a member of the Russian delegation, declared, "We are opening each other's eyes to the propaganda of evil stereotypes and we are finding what we can do to change this awful situation." American film director Sydney Pollack [*Out of Africa, Tootsie*] agreed, "Some wonderful seed work has been planted. Consciousness has been raised on both sides."

"There was such enthusiasm about [Summit I]," says Gerzon, "that we decided to have an ongoing organization and so we called it the American-Soviet Film Initiative."

Gerzon and Klimov, co-presidents of ASFI, see film as an important tool for thawing the Cold War. "The artful images we produce can be far more powerful than any diplomatic exchange," Klimov said at a press conference during Summit I. "The problem is to destroy stereotypes that lead us to Cold War misunderstanding."

Gerzon concurs with his Russian counterpart, outlining some of his frustrations dealing with L.A. media moguls: "One of the most important social issues to me was obviously war and peace and the American-Soviet relationship. One of the first things I found when I tried to sell those kind of projects in Hollywood was that Hollywood only wanted the stereotype . . . I started realizing this is not really a free country—there are some commercial limitations. After those two Reagan elections, nobody wanted to come out with a film that would portray the Soviets as anything but the Evil Empire."

Gerzon is quick to point out that what ASFI is doing is not "a peace movement activity." "This is a professional activity of filmmakers . . . ," he explains. "I was ap-

**Academy Award winner Marlee Matlin meets with Soviet admirers at the American Film Festival in Moscow in late February.**

**Mark Gerzon, president of the American-Soviet Film Initiative: American films' portrayal of the Soviets has been vicious and ugly.**

pealing to the unwritten rule of filmmakers, namely that great art is free, honest and has integrity. Most of the sensitive people in this town know that our portrayal of the Soviets was not true. It was vicious and ugly. And filmmakers in the Soviet Union also knew that film had been perverted in their society to become a tool of propaganda. I tried to appeal to a common bond they had as filmmakers. If I had said,

'Come join this film peace movement,' nobody would have come . . . ."

Inside ASFI headquarters Barbara Coffman, executive director of ASFI, is pouring over notes, answering phone calls and composing a telex to Klimov. Coffman says that the ultimate goal of ASFI is "to disappear, because there'll be so much natural connection [between the United States and Soviet Union] that we won't need people who are navigating through uncharted waters. That's what we do. We go where nobody else has gone before."

As part of their trail-blazing adventures, ASFI took the entertainment summit to Moscow and Leningrad last January. The Summit II American delegation—which included actors Keith Carradine and Dennis Weaver; producers David Puttman, Lawrence Schiller and Carolyn Pfeiffer; superagent Jeff Berg and director Gilbert Cates—visited the Soviet Union for 10 days and showed American films including *E.T.*, *Choose Me* and *The Whales of August*. Coffman, former assistant dean at Cal State Long Beach, says the delegation was "deeply touched by the eagerness to work together, the open-heartedness and genuine reception they received . . . . People there were so hungry for American films."

Summit II concluded with an agreement on three proposals. First was a commitment to broaden the contacts between the show-business communities to include professionals in the television, documentary film and animated film industries. Second was an agreement to participate in a Russian-American joint exhibition slated for 1989-90. The exhibition will travel through 20 cities in each country, displaying a wide variety of examples of Soviet and American culture. And third, and perhaps most important, ASFI agreed to work out a film exchange program between the Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress.

Gerzon hopes the Cold War thaw will revive Hollywood's interest in his U.S.-Soviet film projects. But besides any potential business benefits, Gerzon seems genuinely moved by the progress towards cultural detente and his contribution to that effort. "When I met with the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow," he says, walking back up the hillside to his home, "he said, 'Congratulations on your work. I think it's very important,' before I even opened my mouth. It was very clear that even the highest level people there know what's going on [with ASFI] and the same thing is true on this side." Gerzon looks out at the Pacific; dusk is settling in, turning the fog deep red. "It's been very exciting to make a contribution, however modest, to the way history works."

**Richard Gere at the American Film Festival.**

### Film Diplomacy

Another layer of the Iron Curtain was peeled away by the power of film from February 19 to March 2 in Leningrad and Moscow. During those two weeks, for the first time ever, Soviets saw American films such as *The Wizard of Oz, The Empire Strikes Back, Coming Home, The Killing Fields, Singing in the Rain, Roxanne, Close Encounters of the Third Kind, An Officer and a Gentleman, Cool Hand Luke,* and what many film buffs consider to be Ronald Reagan's best, *King's Row.* The movies were shown as part of An American Film Festival, organized by Film and Theater Diplomacy.

"Weary of the old status between the Soviet Union and the United States," Carol Peyser founded Film and Theater Diplomacy in San Francisco in February 1987. Peyser's initial goal was to promote "a different image of America" in the Soviet Union. She claims the Soviets have often used American films to further their own propaganda designs. For example, the Soviets screened *Midnight Cowboy* to teach Soviet citizens about how capitalism affects the average American: dirty money-grubbing drives decent young men into the streets. The Soviets have also shown *The Grapes of Wrath* to emphasize how horribly the American system treated members of its lower class (apparently the effort backfired, for Soviet viewers pointed out that even poor Americans owned cars).

After a year of fundraising (An American Film Festival was produced with a rather modest budget of $150,000), Peyser arrived in the Soviet Union with 30 films in her bags and 30 delegates, including Richard Gere, Daryl Hannah, Spalding Gray, Matt Dillon, Carrie Fisher and Marlee Matlin.

**Ed Asner: Political activism may be good PR, but it can damage an actor's career.**

# Do We Need Celebrities?

Does the peace movement need celebrities? Are these movie stars just aboard for a free public relations ride? Why should the peace movement court celebs instead of, say, building contractors or basketball refs?

"We're strong proponents of [working with] celebrities because we're convinced the peace movement needs higher visibility," says Robert Musil, director of communications and education for SANE/FREEZE. Musil cites a study showing that 17 million Americans would join a disarmament group if they knew how and where to join. SANE/FREEZE, which has roughly 170,000 members, would love to tap into those millions of latent peaceniks.

"I started using celebrities long ago," Musil says. "And there was mild resistance." One problem, he thinks, is that some activists take pride in their ignorance of celebrities. "Some like the fact that they're alienated from mainstream American culture," he says. Second, high-tech videos, modums and computers cost more than ditto machines and typewriters. Finally, activists are worried that using big names diverts attention from the issues. Is it more important that hundreds of citizens are arrested while protesting bomb tests in Nevada or that Peter Yarrow is there?

"There's a potential for reverse prejudice," says Jesse Cocks of the American Peace Test in Las Vegas. It is unfair, she says, to assume that rock stars and film actors simply show up at demonstrations to get their names in the papers. "Not all of these stars are coming out [to the test site] for PR," she says. "Some are afraid of the exposure." She says that Martin Sheen, who has been arrested a number of times at the test site, has lost several jobs because of his high profile on the protest line.

Ed Asner, former president of the Screen Actors Guild and perhaps the most politically active of anyone in Hollywood, agrees that activism can hurt one's career. "All the public knows is the big bucks actors get," he says, "but they don't realize to what extent we carry memories of the blacklist."

Asner insists that his *Lou Grant* television series was canceled because of his politics and that he was blacklisted for a number of years afterwards. "Getting work was like pulling teeth," he says. "It bears emphasis that many of these people don't think they were blacklisting me. They were operating out of fear." He explains that producers and directors may have passed him over, saying "'I love him but he's a little old. I love him but he's too heavy. I love him but he's overexposed.' Those are ways of describing their fear."

Robert Musil and Jessie Cocks agree that grassroots organizing and high-tech communicating with well-known celebrities are not mutually exclusive. Although Musil would rather have a computer on his desk than a manual typewriter, and he derides the image of the peace movement as a bunch of "saddle-back preachers, moving from town to town," he acknowledges the importance of person-to-person grassroots contact. Cocks, who says she is "more grassroots oriented," also believes that the "high-profile sort of stuff needs to be done." When Martin Sheen, Robert Blake and Teri Garr ride into the desert to protest bomb tests, she's not going to tell them to go home. *—Rob Sullivan*

The films played to packed houses and elicited tremendous response. Especially popular were *Coming Home* and *Desert Bloom*, which ends with the first atomic bomb test at the desert test site outside Las Vegas. According to Peyser, *Desert Bloom* triggered an "absorbing" discussion between the actors and the audience about the hazards of nuclear war and the superpower arms race.

Meanwhile, the trauma of the Vietnam War depicted in *Coming Home* raised obvious parallels to the Soviet situation in Afghanistan. After the screening of the film the Americans talked with the audience about the war. According to Spalding Gray [*The Killing Fields, Swimming to Cambodia*], the most poignant moment in the exchange came when a Soviet stood up and said, "How can we talk to you about Afghanistan? You know more about what's going on there than we do."

But the most popular film of the festival, according to Peyser, was the Steve Martin comedy *Roxanne*, proving that laughter may be the most universal of all languages.

As a matter of fact, comedy might just be the new secret weapon in the U.S.-Soviet thaw. Peyser says that Mel Brooks, Gene Wilder, Lily Tomlin, Gilda Radner and Robin Williams want to participate in a comedy film festival in the Soviet Union under the auspices of Film and Theater Diplomacy. But by then, Peyser may be in China, for the Chinese are also interested in sponsoring a film festival. Or she may be back in Moscow and Leningrad with a retrospective of George Lucas films; the creator of *Star Wars* has expressed interest in introducing his intergalactic adventurers to the East. One project almost certain for Film and Theater Diplomacy is an exchange program between film students in the Soviet Union and the United States; Peyser is counting on the participation of Columbia University, New York University, University of Southern California and University of California at Los Angeles and equivalent Soviet film schools.

One might still ask, what does all this well-intentioned activity hope to accomplish? No movie is going to end the Cold War or wipe the slate clean of nuclear bombs. But who can argue with Judd Nelson: "The more avenues of communication are open, the less chance there is of misunderstanding and blowing each other away." □

*Evolution Film & Tape, the company making* One World, *needs funds to complete it. Donations are tax deductible. Contact EFT at 858 Westbourne Dr., West Hollywood, CA 90069.*

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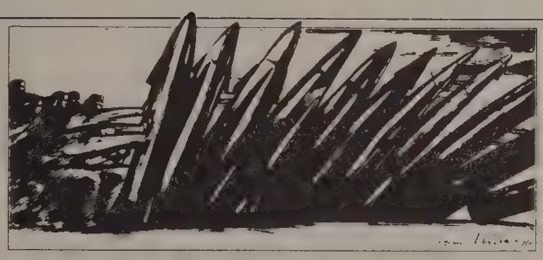

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# DEADLINE

**A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media**

MAY/JUNE 1988 VOLUME III, NO. 3


**Prologue to START**

## New INF Numbers Cast Doubt On Standard Press Tallies

*By William M. Arkin*

Since the signing of the INF treaty in December, connoisseurs of the nuclear scene have feasted upon extraordinary new information about Soviet nuclear forces and capabilities that has come to light as a result of the arms-reductions negotiations and the revolutionary data exchange that has accompanied the agreement. The information, including data on INF forces and the Soviet strategic nuclear systems that are the subject of discussion at the START talks in Geneva, has gone largely unanalyzed in the news media. The press corps, normally attentive to numbers and details, has in recent months been deployed elsewhere: keeping up with superpower summitry, the day-to-day INF treaty-ratification hearings, the Navy's fall from grace, and the reduction in defense spending.

The new data, however, are not just of interest to bean counters. They provide unprecedented insight into the organization, practices, and missions of Soviet nuclear forces. They raise questions about the capability of the United States to gather and analyze intelligence about the Soviet Union. And perhaps most important, they raise serious questions about the accuracy of many standard sources that defense reporters have come to rely on.

The main source of this new information is the seventy-three page *Memorandum of Understanding Regarding the Establishment of the Data Base* that was appended to the INF treaty. Referred to as the MOU, the document contains the complete inventory of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles and lists every site in the United States, the Soviet Union, and Eastern and Western Europe where INF missiles or their production and support facilities are located. Other important new information is contained in two additional documents: the Joint Communiqué issued by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. at the conclusion of the Washington summit meeting, and the military posture statement of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for fiscal year 1989, released as part of the Pentagon's annual budget presentation last February.

The MOU reveals important information about the number of Soviet nonstrategic missiles deployed, the quantity produced, and the location of those missiles. The data disclosed in the MOU point to the following conclusions about what had previously been reported in the news media on this subject:

- The Soviet Union has many fewer long-range missiles—and a greater force of shorter-range missiles—than indicated by previous U.S. estimates.
- Soviet announcements of limited withdrawals of SS-20 and SS-4 intermediate-range missiles since 1985, while publicly discounted by U.S. intelligence agencies, are supported by data in the MOU.
- U.S. intelligence greatly overstated the reload capability of the SS-20, which, according to the MOU, is modest or perhaps nonexistent, comparable to that of U.S. INF systems.
- The Soviet Union has deployed shorter-range SS-23s in Eastern Europe, a fact not previously disclosed by U.S. intelligence.

### The Shrinking SS-20 Force

Data regarding the number of deployed SS-20 launchers received comparatively wide attention in the news media. *The Boston Globe*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times* reported the numbers as breaking news on December 10—one day after details of the MOU were leaked to the press during the Washington summit. The MOU revealed that the Soviet Union had deployed only 405 launchers for the triple-warhead, intermediate-range SS-20, rather than 441, which had been the widely reported figure—a discrepancy of almost 10 percent. (See the chart on page 10 for a comparison of published estimates and the numbers provided by the MOU.) In addition, only 65 SS-4 intermediate-range missiles, rather than the commonly cited number of 112, were deployed, according to the document. Meanwhile, the MOU also disclosed apparent U.S. undercounting of Soviet deployments. For example, the document revealed that the Soviets had a total of 102 launchers for the shorter-range SS-23s, rather than the 24 to 36 cited in earlier U.S. estimates. In addition, the MOU disclosed for the first time that SS-23s were deployed outside the Soviet Union, in East Germany. Reports of these discrepancies were scattered among different press accounts, however, and none of the newspapers that reported this story offered satisfactory explanations of the significance of the new numbers. Were the U.S.

**Inside: Stephen F. Cohen on the U.S. Press and *Glasnost***

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intelligence-gathering agencies surprised by the differences? What did the new numbers indicate about Soviet intentions and capabilities? What did the numbers reveal about the quality of public debate which had been based on incorrect numbers widely reported by the news media?

In fact, regarding the SS-20 deployment, a review of recent history is instructive. Former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger stated in his *Annual Report to Congress* last year that the Soviets had "at least 441" SS-20 missile launchers. What Secretary Weinberger failed to note, however, was that the Soviets had withdrawn 36 launchers since 1985. In April 1985 General Secretary Gorbachev announced a moratorium on SS-20 deployments in Europe until November of that year. On October 3, during a visit to Paris, he called for a freeze on U.S. and Soviet INF missile deployments and announced that SS-20 missiles west of the Urals would be reduced.

Gorbachev's statements and the withdrawal that subsequently took place had no impact on official and reported estimates of the number of Soviet SS-20s. Steven J. Dryden reported for *The Washington Post* on September 18, 1985, that the Soviets had actually added SS-20 missiles despite their announced moratorium. And although the Joint Chiefs of Staff did report in their fiscal year 1987 posture statement that 36 SS-20 launchers were "unlocated," they, like the defense secretary and most reporters, held fast to the 441 figure, disregarding the Soviet announcement of limited withdrawals. It now turns out, based on information in the MOU, that Gorbachev was telling the truth.

The discrepancy in the numbers also raises questions about whether U.S. intelligence sources were aware of the SS-20 withdrawal but did not make this information public. At least in the case of the older intermediate-range missiles, the SS-4s, this did appear to be the case. U.S. government estimates of the number of SS-4s were substantially higher than those disclosed in the MOU. The U.S. appears to have been aware of this fact. Gorbachev, in his October 3 Paris statement on SS-20 withdrawals, also announced that the Soviet SS-4 missiles were being phased out. Nevertheless, the U.S. government's numbers for deployed SS-4s never changed. This fact was noted later in *The New York Times* by national security correspondent Michael R. Gordon, who reported on December 10, 1987, that "in recent months . . . the Soviet Union has been vigorously dismantling its SS-4 missile force, a development never officially acknowledged by either side." A key question, still unanswered, is why the Reagan administration continued to issue fact sheets right up to the summit reporting 112 deployed SS-4s when it knew that number was inaccurate.

Another discrepancy between the MOU and publicly available intelligence estimates concerns the total number of deployed and nondeployed SS-20 missiles. The number in the MOU, 650, is far lower than most previous estimates, which generally put the Soviet force at between 800 and 1,000 missiles. According to a report in *The Washington Times* on February 5, we now know

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# Opening Moscow's Door To the American Press

*By Stephen F. Cohen*

American media coverage of the Soviet Union has improved considerably during the last three years. It has become broader in scope, more detailed, more balanced, and more open-minded. Having written critically about United States press coverage of the Soviet Union, I am pleased to acknowledge this improvement, but I hasten to add that the credit belongs equally to *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Indeed, the improvement in American media coverage has grown almost in direct proportion to the unfolding of glasnost and perestroika here in the Soviet Union.

Although there have been important exceptions, the American media image of perestroika and of the Gorbachev leadership has gone through four stages.

The first stage, in 1985, presented the view that glasnost and perestroika were mostly Soviet public relations devices, or propaganda tricks, and that therefore the Gorbachev leadership did not represent anything new in substance in the Soviet Union, only in style.

The second stage began about the time of the first Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, in Geneva in November 1985, when the American media began to offer the view that indeed Gorbachev was a reformer, but merely a "technocratic reformer" who would not, in the end, propose any fundamental or radical changes in the Soviet system.

The third stage began sometime between the January 1987 Central Committee plenum on democratization and the June 1987 plenum on economic reform, when the American media started to present a revised view—that Gorbachev's proposed program of perestroika was in fact a radical program of reform.

And then sometime around October–November 1987, about the time of the Yeltsin affair, the fourth and current image emerged in the American media. It suggests that while Gorbachev is proposing a radical program, that program is likely to fail, for two reasons: Apart from the intelligentsia, no substantial social groups in the Soviet Union support perestroika, and powerful political opposition to perestroika exists at high levels.

These four stages in only three years of American media coverage of perestroika have produced some negative results and some positive ones. The negative results include wildly contradictory analyses that must confuse American readers. For example, not so long ago the American media repeatedly reported that Gorbachev had, as the American expression goes, already consolidated political power. Now, however, he's portrayed as a leader besieged by opposition, a man who could lose his job at any moment. Or consider the original standard media analysis that the Soviet leadership had a kind of totalitarian control over society and could do anything it wished. Now media reporting suggests that the Soviet leadership cannot persuade the larger society to accept any of its perestroika reforms. Along the way there has been a constantly changing array of American criteria for measuring change or the absence of change in the Soviet Union. For example, it was said Soviet authorities will never let Andrei Sakharov return from internal exile in Gorky—but they did. They'll never increase Jewish emigration—but they've increased it somewhat. They'll never publish Pasternak, Rybakov, or others—now, they have. They'll never leave Afghanistan; now they say they will. They'll never rehabilitate Bukharin, but they have. In other words, the U.S. media have no clearly defined, or constant, criteria by which to evaluate or measure change in the Soviet Union.

One might conclude that the main impact of perestroika on the American media has been to confuse and disorient the media. But I would argue that a positive result is emerging from this confusion and disorientation—the breaking down of old media stereotypes about the Soviet Union. And the result of these collapsing stereotypes is a fuller, more open-minded, more pluralistic media coverage, particularly by American correspondents living here in Moscow.

And yet, no serious person would dispute the fact that American media coverage of Soviet affairs is still inadequate. So I want to suggest, very briefly, a few reasons for that inadequacy. Some of the reasons are to be found in the nature of American journalism; some are to be found in the nature of the Soviet system.

On the American side, you must understand that we Americans are a provincial people. We do not know or understand foreign countries, any foreign countries, very well. Therefore, if we leave aside our "enemy" image of the Soviet Union, I would argue that American press coverage of Soviet affairs is no worse than American press coverage of many other countries. Some of my colleagues in academic life who study, for example, Asian or Latin American countries, are aghast at what our best newspapers often print about those countries. So when we write or broadcast something foolish about the Soviet Union, as Americans say, "Don't take it personally."

Moreover, keep in mind that there is not a permanent group of Soviet specialists among American journalists. Most of the journalists who come here to cover the Soviet Union, for example, arrive without adequate experience, as fledgling Sovietologists at best. And after three years of acquiring substantial expertise about Soviet affairs, they're sent to cover Bangladesh, Denver, Bonn, or some other completely different political culture. That's the way American professional journalism operates, and that too presents a problem.

On another level, there is no question that the Amer-

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*STEPHEN F. COHEN, professor of politics at Princeton University, is the author of several books, including* Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History Since 1917. *This is an abridged text of remarks he delivered at a conference in Moscow at the Novosti Press Agency, co-sponsored by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.*

ican media are still influenced by an old American belief, a kind of article of faith, that the Soviet Union has never changed and therefore will never change. For many Americans, this is an important conviction. It makes many of us feel better about ourselves. In this context, it is important to distinguish the responsible analytical media from what might be called the "theological" segment of the press, for which nothing the Soviet Union can ever do will change its "Evil Empire" image.

All of this, of course, is part of the long history of American cold-war thinking about the Soviet Union, which is reflected in the media, which in turn is a reflection of American opinion. Forty, or perhaps even seventy, years of cold war cannot be eliminated by three years of glasnost. We would be children to think that either side is on the verge of radical transformations in consciousness.

Finally, there is not in the United States a mass left-wing or socialist press that might give more sympathetic coverage to the Soviet efforts to reform Soviet socialism. In America we simply don't care about—or like—socialism, reformed or unreformed. Therefore, perestroika is not something that gains our empathy.

Equally important reasons for inadequate American coverage exist on the Soviet side. Some of you know that I have a rule against preaching to the Soviet Union about its internal affairs. As I have said many times in the United States and here in the Soviet Union, you must solve your own domestic problems, just as we must solve ours. Therefore, what follows is not a preachment but an analysis of facts.

Glasnost has brought about some major achievements, but it has still not solved major problems that directly affect American media coverage of the Soviet Union. I will mention four of those problems.

Most American correspondents in Moscow are honest, hardworking, professional people who want to report the facts accurately and give reliable perspectives and analyses of those facts. But their official status in the Soviet Union remains woefully low. They are forced to live in foreign ghettos; they are not treated as dignified members of an honorable profession; and too often they are even treated as suspicious people. If nothing else, this causes resentment among them.

Second, American journalists are not given adequate access to Soviet policymakers, certainly nothing approaching what they are accustomed to in any Western country. This, too, causes resentment, but it also forces American journalists, who must file a large number of stories, to write many reports based on marginal sources, and even rumors. Moreover, it is not in your own interest to deprive American journalists of access to policymakers. Much of U.S. coverage of American politics is based on what our policymakers have to say. In other words, you are depriving your own policymakers of a fuller, fairer hearing in our press, because our reporters would amply report whatever they said.

Third, the Soviet press, despite glasnost, still does not provide much information about what we would call Soviet public opinion, as opposed to state or official opinion. For example, you publish very few opinion polls, and those polls are almost impossible to interpret because they're so elliptical. One of the main subjects for any journalist in the United States is public opinion—what society thinks, not just what the state thinks. But there is no way for American correspondents here to develop a serious approach to Soviet public opinion. Here, too, they have to overrely on sources that your authorities consider unreliable or atypical, such as dissidents. I would agree with you, Soviet dissidents do not represent Soviet public opinion. But journalists don't have access to Soviet public opinion.

Finally, despite glasnost, the way the most important policy decisions are actually discussed and made in your system remains, as you know, largely hidden from all journalists. American journalists surely understand why Politburo meetings must be closed, secret, and confidential. Cabinet meetings in Western political systems are also closed and confidential. But it is difficult for American journalists to understand, for example, why Central Committee meetings must go, for the most part, unpublicized. After all, in many ways the Central Committee is the most important Soviet deliberative or legislative body. Western journalists are accustomed to observing and listening to the debates that take place in legislative bodies in the West. And some American journalists know that many years ago Central Committee proceedings were publicized.

My point is that American media coverage of the Soviet Union is likely to become dramatically fuller and fairer only when glasnost moves upward in the Soviet system. Most American journalists would write fairly about the complex and very difficult problems and decisions faced by Soviet policymakers today if they could see or read how those decisions are actually debated and reached. But until that happens much American reporting will be based on rumors and speculation, which is lamentable, but which is also unavoidable. □

## First Annual Moscow Meeting

The remarks of Stephen F. Cohen printed here followed two days of discussions organized for the American press corps in Moscow by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media. The First Annual Moscow Meeting, which took place March 14 and 15, featured presentations by Professor Cohen; Ed. A. Hewett, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution; Robert Legvold, director of the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union; and Robert S. McNamara, former secretary of defense under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

Offered as a service to Moscow-based American journalists, the discussions were funded by The Winston Foundation, with additional support made available by the Prospect Hill Foundation. The Center's Second Annual Moscow Meeting will be held following the presidential inauguration in 1989.

# Delta 181 Puts Reporters to the Test

*By Daniel Charles*

When some forty national security and science reporters from many of the nation's leading news organizations gathered for the Pentagon's noon briefing on February 29, they expected some news worth writing about. The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization was scheduled that day to report on the results of its Delta 181 mission—which began three weeks earlier, February 8, on a Cape Canaveral launchpad. Journalists who covered this complex experiment faced the difficult task of trying to find a news angle for a test whose results were, after just a few weeks of evaluation, inconclusive.

Delta 181, named after the booster rocket that lofted a three-ton satellite, seven sensors, and fifteen smaller payloads into space, was designed to collect basic information on how actual and decoy warheads might appear to a variety of electronic sensors in space, thereby filling a gap in SDIO's data base. After these electronically recorded images were collected, according to Pentagon officials, experts could begin designing sensors and computer programs capable of distinguishing real warheads from decoys.

SDIO officials offered preliminary judgments about the test's success immediately after the launch, but a more informed assessment was promised by the Pentagon at a forthcoming February 29 briefing. Defense correspondents, many of whom had already reported earlier claims of the test's success, attended this meeting, hoping for further news about the $250-million experiment.

At the press conference, however, Major Andrew Green, director of the mission, provided information that did not fit neatly into a traditional news lead. Reporters pressed Green to declare success or failure in the quest for a foolproof way to pick out warheads in space. But although SDIO has acquired a reputation for claiming rapid, even dramatic progress toward its goals, Green proved to be a reluctant prophet. "We're still looking at the data," he said. "It's too early, I believe, to make those giant conclusions." Lieutenant General James A. Abrahamson, SDIO director, then took the microphone to support the young Army officer's caution. "In SDI, unfortunately, there are an awful lot of people who want a magic answer," he said. "What we are trying to do with this series of experiments is understand what can be done."

Those cautious remarks did not satisfy some Pentagon correspondents. "A lot of reporters I was sitting with were saying, 'What's the news here?'" recalls Knight-Ridder's Pentagon reporter, Mark Thompson. "Everybody wanted a lead," says Melissa Healy of the *Los Angeles Times*. Indeed, after several reporters prodded Abrahamson and Green with further questions about whether the test would advance the program, Abrahamson returned to the microphone to say, "The answer is yes." Major Green, taking his cue, agreed that the task of identifying warheads in flight seemed "easier" than they had anticipated. He hurriedly qualified the statement, saying it could be construed as "a little bit of conclusion-leaping." Only 50 percent of the data had been returned to SDIO's computers at that point, said Green, and it would take "about a year to get all this data reduced and analyzed."

Major Green's caveats did not make it into several of the next day's stories, however, as some reporters who wrote up the press conference emphasized only Green's optimism. Mark Thompson produced the following lead: "Last month's $250 million 'Star Wars' space experiment showed that the missile defense shield will be able to pinpoint nuclear warheads amid a flock of decoys, Pentagon officials said yesterday." Using Abrahamson as his source, Thompson wrote that distinguishing real warheads from fake ones "may be easier than Pentagon scientists initially believed." *The Philadelphia Inquirer* ran Thompson's story on page 3 under the headline, OFFICIALS: 'STAR WARS' SPOTS FAKE WEAPONS.

*The Washington Times*, in a story filed by Warren Strobel, emphasized the same quote in its report headlined INITIAL TESTS HINT SDI IS FEASIBLE. Equally optimistic stories appeared in the specialized publications *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, *Defense Week*, and *Defense News*.

Other major newspapers, however, left Abrahamson's press conference unreported. "We'd said everything there was to say about it in three previous stories," says R. Jeffrey Smith of *The Washington Post*, referring to one wire-service report and two stories he filed in the days following the launch. The *Los Angeles Times* did not report on the press conference either. According to Healy, "Abrahamson made some stronger statements—in a sense, at the prodding of reporters—that didn't seem well-founded, or in line with the other information they had given us."

> Reporters who covered the Delta 181 experiment faced the difficult task of trying to find a news angle for an SDI test whose results were inconclusive.

Thompson, however, defends his optimistic follow-up by noting that "the press has the responsibility to report what the Defense Department is saying about the test. We can't say we won't report this because we might not believe it." Thompson also suggests that the press didn't force Abrahamson's optimistic assessment. "It's not like these guys said, 'Oh, stop the torture, I'll say anything you want,'" says Thompson.

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# Some Who Did the Story Well: Winners of the 1988 Olive Branch Awards

*The fifth annual Olive Branch Awards for outstanding coverage of nuclear weapons issues and U.S.–Soviet relations were presented in New York in March. The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media co-sponsors the award and selects recipients in the newspaper and television categories. Other sponsors are the Editors' Organizing Committee, which selects magazine recipients, and the Writers' and Publishers' Alliance, which is responsible for the book awards. Following are the winners, along with descriptions of their work.*

## Newspapers

***The Albuquerque Journal, for articles by Nolan Hester.*** In a two-part series, published in September, reporter Hester described the moral and ethical dilemmas faced by current and former employees at the Sandia National Laboratories, who engineer components of most nuclear weapons in the nation's arsenal. In accepting the award Hester said that the articles generated considerable controversy in the community, but little discussion among Sandia workers, who are reluctant to discuss their personal views about the weapons they help to create. Said Hester, "One Sandia scientist told me after the story ran that 'everyone Xeroxed it and no one talked about it.'"

***The Chicago Tribune, for articles by David Evans.*** Evans, a former Marine Corps lieutenant colonel who served as an artillery officer in Vietnam, was named military affairs correspondent for the *Tribune* in April. Since then, Evans has taken full advantage of his specialized knowledge of the Department of Defense, bringing readers into the offices of the Pentagon and out to weapons testing sites. He has reported on wasteful Pentagon spending, inadequate weapons testing, and the increasing nuclearization of the military at the expense of conventional fighting capability.

## Television

***CBS News, for Seven Days in May.*** Broadcast in June, this two-hour special involved nine correspondents and a crew of fifty in an ambitious effort to report on contemporary life in the Soviet Union. Executive producer Lane Venardos and *Evening News* anchor Dan Rather directed the effort to present a multidimensional picture of the Soviet Union, taking viewers inside the office of a Politburo member, introducing them to farmers, artists, steelworkers, and heavy-metal rockers.

***The Discovery Channel, for Russia Live from Inside.*** Aired for sixty-six hours, *Russia Live from Inside* presented a first on American television: live, unedited television directly from the USSR. The broadcast, aired the week of February 15, was intended to provide an alternative to the miniseries *Amerika*, which was broadcast at the same time. Soviet programming included *Vremya*, the USSR's leading news program; *Let's Go Girls*, which promotes physical fitness and pride among schoolgirls; and *Sweet Dreams for Youngsters*, the country's most popular children's program.

***WETA, for The Summit: A Nuclear Age Drama.*** During the week of the December summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, WETA presented an insightful two-hour-long special under the direction of executive producers Ricki Green and Brian Lapting and senior producer Lew Allison. The program, moderated by Marvin Kalb, was built around Granada television's dramatization of the historic second summit at Reykjavik. The reenactment was followed by a series of panel discussions with a diverse group of experts in the fields of national security and U.S.–Soviet relations.

## Magazines

***Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, for an article by Carol Cohn.*** In "Slick 'Ems, Glick 'Ems, Christmas Trees, and Cookie Cutters," the author argues that the language defense analysts use to describe nuclear policy "articulates only the perspective of the users of nuclear weapons." Such language is useful to describe how nuclear weapons and their support systems may be affected by various strategies, Cohn notes, but it fails to view nuclear war "from the position of the victim."

***Esquire, for an article by Martin Amis.*** In "Nuke City," novelist Martin Amis describes the people in the nation's capital who formulate, criticize, and study U.S. nuclear weapons policy. His description of the "nuclear campus" is as entertaining as it is chilling. "Two things immediately struck me about the nukies," Amis writes. "There are no women. And there are no smokers. . . . It seems discrepant that these connoisseurs of thermal pulse and superstellar temperatures, these fireball merchants and inferno artists, should go green at the sight of a Marlboro. But you are going to get discrepancies—comic, tragic, pathetic—when your subject is nuclear weapons."

***Life, for an article by William Shebar and photography by Roger Ressmeyer.*** One month before the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a treaty requiring the destruction of medium-range nuclear missiles, *Life* magazine chronicled the complex and hazardous process of destroying obsolete Titan II strategic nuclear weapons. The article and text, published in the November issue, illustrated how a missile's reentry vehicle is uncoupled from its rocket booster; how warheads are extracted and dismantled; how tanks of explosive rocket fuel are drained; and how concrete silos are blown apart in ac-

cordance with verification procedures. The article provided a timely preview of upcoming INF-missile dismantlings, which, the author noted, should be "different under the new arms accord, but no less complex."

***The Nation, for its special issue "Gorbachev's Soviet Union After Two Years."*** In the June 13 issue, *Nation* editor Victor Navasky and assistant editor Katrina vanden Heuvel presented a series of nine articles by U.S. and Soviet thinkers assessing the progress of and prospects for Mikhail Gorbachev's ambitious domestic reforms. Contributors included Stephen F. Cohen, writing about American skepticism toward change in the Soviet Union; Archie Brown, evaluating the political challenges confronting Gorbachev; Matthew Evangelista on changes in Soviet foreign policy; A. James McAdams on developments in relations between the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies; Ed A. Hewett on Soviet economic reforms; Loren Graham on the limits of change in Soviet science and technology; and Ronald Grigor Suny on Soviet nationalities. Two additional articles were written by current or former Soviet citizens—the first by Soviet poet Andrei Voznesensky and the second, a roundup of opinion by eight émigrés with diverse points of view.

***The New Yorker, for an article by Richard J. Barnet.*** American national security policy has been undergirded by "four pillars" since the Second World War, writes Richard Barnet in an article of the same title in the March 9 issue. Rarely challenged in the last forty years, these pillars include: the doctrine of nuclear deterrence; a global military coalition created to contain Soviet power; "a commitment to intervene" in the Third World to prevent "revolutionary political change"; and a "liberal international economic order." These pillars have increasingly less to do with reality, Barnet writes, urging Americans to rethink U.S. national security policy. "The great danger," he concludes, "is that our nation will miss the real threats and the real opportunities that face us as we aimlessly pursue the shadows of our fears."

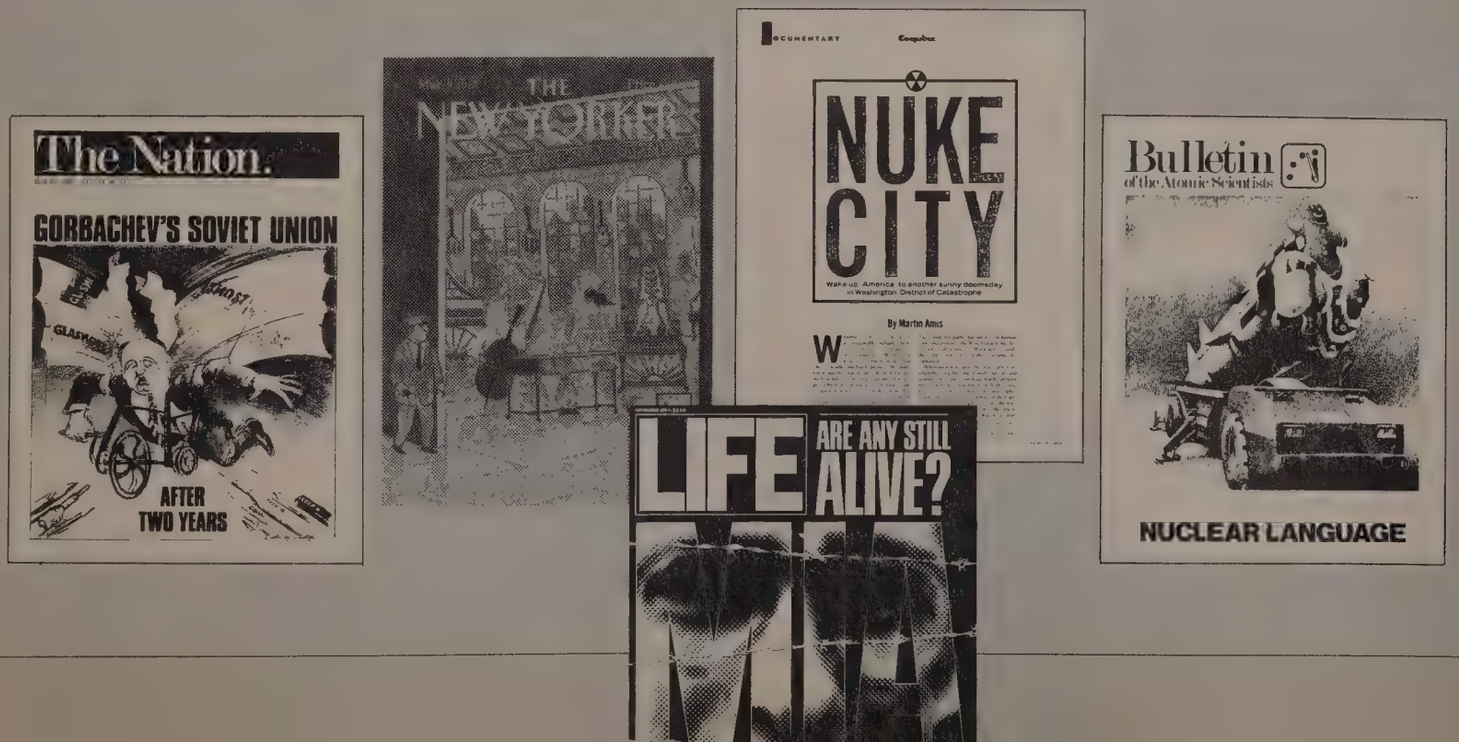
## Books

***Robert Del Tredici, for At Work in the Fields of the Bomb.*** A photographic study of the nuclear weapons industry, this book, published by Harper & Row, documents the various stages of nuclear weapons production, taking readers from uranium mines to weapons research laboratories and finally to the assembly plants in which the weapons are built.

***Sarah Pirtle, for An Outbreak of Peace.*** A novel for young adults, written and illustrated with the cooperation of high school students, this work tells the story of how a children's antinuclear group sparked a wider awareness of the nuclear weapons issue among adults in a fictional New England town.

## Lifetime Achievement

***James Aronson.*** Author of *The Press and the Cold War, Packaging the News, Deadline for the Media, Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of* The National Guardian, and other works, Professor Aronson, currently the Thomas Hunter Professor at Hunter College, was recognized for his five-decade-long contribution to reporting on the national security state. A co-founder and former editor of *The National Guardian,* Professor Aronson has been a persistent critic of U.S. nuclear weapons policy and of self-censorship in coverage by the popular press. He has held positions with *The Boston Evening Transcript, The New York Herald Tribune, The New York Post,* and *The New York Times*. His classic work, *The Press and the Cold War,* will be released in an updated version this spring.



## Delta 181

*(continued from page 5)*

The contrasting accounts of the February 29 press conference illustrate some of the difficulties entailed in reporting the SDI story. Journalists feel they must focus on the "big question" of SDI's feasibility when covering specific technical experiments, according to several reporters, because they need to explain the larger significance of any SDI test. "Every reporter has to put something like this in perspective," says Smith. "Readers want to know where this leaves us," says Tim Carrington, national security correspondent of *The Wall Street Journal*. "What does it show us about the bottom-line question of whether it is feasible to intercept and destroy ballistic missiles in flight?"

The problem, however, is that much of the SDI research program is still at a very early and speculative stage. Most reporters failed to note in their stories that Delta 181 was sent up to collect extremely fundamental and basic data. Nor did they attempt to square this with the administration's stated plans for early SDI deployment.

Instead, when Delta 181 was launched on February 8, some reporters imprecisely portrayed the experiment as a test of an SDI system's overall technical feasibility. 'STAR WARS' GETS 1ST BIG TEST IN SPACE was the front-page headline in *USA Today* on February 9.. *The New York Times* also featured the launch at the top of page 1, headlining the article, written by science writer William J. Broad, MILITARY SATELLITE LAUNCHED TO TEST ANTIMISSILE PLAN. Broad wrote that the experiment was "intended to test the ability of sensors to detect and track simulated enemy targets in space," implying that it was a test of more advanced technology.

On the same day, other newspapers, including *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, ran shorter stories on their inside pages, describing the launch and its goal. R. Jeffrey Smith explains *The Washington Post*'s decision to use a short wire-service account of the data-gathering mission: "I didn't think it was that important."

When Pentagon officials, the day after the launch, declared the experiment a success, they meant that the data collection had been carried out as planned—not, as a few reports suggested, that the test had proved the feasibility of anything like a functioning antimissile system. Nevertheless, on February 10 *USA Today* led off page 3 with a four-column headline: SECRET 'STAR WARS' TEST: IT WORKS.

Smith, by contrast, reported a number of telling details that day, qualifying SDIO's claim. He noted, for example, that only 5 percent of the data had been returned to earth at that time; that the sensors involved in this test were not sophisticated enough to form part of a functioning SDI system; and that one of the satellite's infrared sensors had failed. Broad's report in *The New York Times*, headlined MILITARY SATELLITE TEST IS RATED SUCCESS, mentioned the sensor's failure but quoted Major Green as saying that the satellite had backup infrared sensors, so that the loss of one did not diminish the mission's success. In fact, as a diagram released by the Pentagon on February 29 made clear, the remaining infrared devices made up for the defective sensor only in part, because they did not cover the entire portion of the electromagnetic spectrum in which the failed sensor was to operate.

The temptation to jump immediately to the question of SDI's ultimate feasibility may be explained, in part, by reporters' perceptions of their readers' interests. "If you're a reporter for a daily paper, the only questions that any of your readers care about are the big ones—is it going to work, is it going to bankrupt us, or is it a good idea," says David J. Lynch, editor of *Defense Week*. "They're not going to care if you got a coherent return from a laser radar, or whatever."

Reporters also have their own competitive reasons for overselling the significance of a particular test. "Partly, there's a need to justify why it's an important story," says Healy. "It's easier to sell to editors if it sounds more important." That's why cautious, noncommittal statements at a Pentagon press conference leave some reporters a bit frustrated, says Carrington. "They've taken twenty minutes to come out on the subway, and they've sort of promised an editor that they'd write a story, and now it doesn't look like it's a good one."

The technical complexity and secrecy of Delta 181 also complicated the task of reporters, preventing them from obtaining an independent assessment of the test's success or significance. It took several days before Pentagon officials released details on two technical difficulties that marred the mission. In addition to the sensor that suffered a partial failure, a computer malfunction during one portion of the test caused several sensors to look off into space rather than directly at the targets. Green said, however, that "sufficient data" was gathered to fulfill the mission's objectives.

Uncertain findings and inconclusive experiments are not the standard ingredients of a page-1 news story. News is more likely to result from clear conclusions and quick judgments. So it is perhaps not surprising that many defense reporters either ignored the complexities of the Delta 181 press conference or pumped up the results. Journalists found both these alternatives preferable to reporting, as Major Green put it, that "it's a little early yet" to announce a verdict on SDI.

Although editors and readers may want clear answers to the "big questions," those answers remain years away. In the meantime, the only way to gauge the progress of the Strategic Defense Initiative is to follow it as it moves through the various stages of research and development. Tracking that story will mean that reporters will have to stretch the definition of "news" to embrace the reporting of the uncertainties intrinsic to the SDI research program. □

*DANIEL CHARLES is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C., who specializes in defense issues. His writings have appeared in* Science, The Scientist, *and the* Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

## The New INF Numbers

*(continued from page 2)*

that the number in the MOU is reportedly at the low end of various U.S. intelligence estimates made between May 1987 and January 1988, which ranged from a high of 1,200 missiles to a July 1987 interagency National Intelligence Estimate stating that the Soviets had only 550 SS-20s.

### SS-20 Reloads

Before the signing of the INF treaty, government sources and, as a result, many news reports, stated that each SS-20 launcher was equipped with at least one operational reload missile. The Defense Department stated in *Soviet Military Power 1987* that the "SS-20 launcher can be reloaded and refired, and the Soviets stockpile refire missiles." In fact, in early June 1983 both *Aerospace Daily* and *Newsweek* reported a debate in the intelligence community over whether the SS-20 launchers were equipped with a *single* reload missile or *two*. All such stories about reloads, as it turns out, were wrong.

The best method for understanding Soviet military practices is to work from data about U.S. forces. American systems are structured in such a way that spares are used for maintenance purposes and testing. According to the MOU, the U.S. has 247 Pershing II missiles (of which 127 are nondeployed) and 442 ground-launched cruise missiles (133 nondeployed). (As it happens, this turns out to be a much larger number than previously acknowledged and reported.) Since spares comprise 38 percent of the U.S. missile totals, analysts customarily assign a similar percentage of normal spares to Soviet forces as well. In fact, when it comes to Pershing II missiles, the MOU reveals that the percentage of nondeployed to deployed missiles is actually higher than it is for the SS-20s. Given these numbers, it is fair to assume the spare SS-20s are probably for maintenance purposes (some 100 missiles, or 25 percent of the deployed force) and testing (some 145 missiles, or some 14 per year for ten more years of the life of the system).

A similar problem of interpretation has also arisen in trying to explain the meaning of the MOU data about "training missiles." The MOU reveals the existence of a large number of Soviet inert and unarmed missile bodies configured to the same weight and mass as normal missiles, and used for training purposes. According to the MOU, the Soviets have 486 such inert missiles: 42 SS-20s, 147 SS-4s, 233 SS-12s, and 64 SS-23s. Some reporters, including Robert C. Toth, national security correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, reported that such items may be suspicious. Toth cited an unnamed "senior U.S. official" who said the existence of these missiles "indicated a 'Potemkin-like' approach in which the Soviets deliberately set out to deceive U.S. satellites."

But there is a less spectacular and perhaps more plausible explanation. The U.S., in its data, reveals that it has 179 Pershing II and 53 Pershing Ia "training missile stages." The U.S. therefore possesses one training missile stage for every 1.8 deployed and nondeployed ballistic missiles. The Soviet ratio is one training missile for every 3.6 ballistic missiles—half as many as the U.S. Evidently, the U.S. trains its soldiers twice as thoroughly as the Soviets.

### New Data on START

The Soviets so often make announcements about their peaceful unilateral initiatives that it can be difficult to assess the real direction of their programs. Since the December summit, however, the MOU and other documents have provided authoritative sources for hard data with which to evaluate Soviet military practices and programs. Unfortunately, these new data have hardly been reported.

One such source, the Joint Communiqué issued by both sides at the conclusion of the December summit, contains agreed "counting rules" for long-range ballistic missiles. This information may be central to the outcome of the START talks. The Communiqué revealed warhead loadings for Soviet submarine-launched ballistic missiles that were quite different from those previously reported. A rather surprising piece of information is that the U.S. agreed that the SS-N-23 missiles, carried on Delta IV–class submarines, will be counted as carrying only four warheads, instead of the ten that had been the figure commonly accepted by defense analysts and reported by the news media. The SS-N-23 was once touted as the Soviet equivalent of the U.S. Trident II. The new warhead loading is particularly interesting when coupled with the testimony of Admiral William O. Studeman, director of Naval Intelligence, who said before the House Armed Services Committee on March 1 that the SS-N-23 "apparently has suffered reliability problems." Studeman revealed that none of the four operational Delta IV submarines armed with SS-N-23 missiles has gone on patrol. Yet in other statements the Pentagon leaves the impression that these submarines are fully operational. There has been virtually no reporting of these disclosures, which could be important in the current round of negotiations on strategic arms.

Other new information about Soviet strategic weapons involves the August 1987 controversy over the deployment of the new Soviet multiple-warhead mobile missile—the SS-24. The Reagan administration has said this missile constitutes a violation of SALT numerical ceilings on multiple-warhead missiles and has received considerable press attention for these views. A typical story, by Michael Gordon of *The New York Times*, reported the administration's concern on August 9 under the headline NEW SOVIET MISSILE FUELS U.S. DISPUTE ON COMPLIANCE. Three days later *The Wall Street Journal* came down on the administration's side in an editorial titled THE SS-24 BREAKOUT. Some reports did note that the Soviets were withdrawing SS-17 multiple-warhead missiles to compensate for the new deployments, but the accounts left the impression that serious doubts remained about whether the new missile put the Soviets in violation of SALT ceilings.

It was not until February, when the Joint Chiefs of

# How the Press Deployed the Missiles

How accurate were the INF numbers used in the press? The *Memorandum of Understanding* appended to the recently signed INF agreement provides a basis for judging. The chart below lists the numbers for deployed missiles or launchers provided by the MOU and compares them with the information offered by the news media in comprehensive tallies published prior to the Washington summit. *The New York Times* provided the fullest account of Soviet intermediate-range systems by presenting additional information, which, in the case of the SS-4, noted the dynamics of that deployment, and, in the case of the SS-20, provided Soviet figures, which, as it turned out, were close to the actual numbers.*

| | | U.S. | | U.S.S.R. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Publication** | **Source** | **Pershing II** | **GLCM** | **SS-4** | **SS-20** | **SS-12** | **SS-23** |
| **Memorandum of Understanding** | **U.S. & Soviet governments** | **120** | **309** | **65** | **405** | **135** | **102** |
| **Los Angeles Times** November 25, 1987 | Associated Press | 108 | 256 | 110 | 441 | Exact number not available | Also in the treaty are 130 shorter-range...SS-12 and SS-23 missiles. |
| **The New York Times** November 25, 1987 | Arms Control Association, *Jane's Weapons Systems*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Associated Press, Department of Defense | 108 | 256 | 112<br>Being phased out | NATO says there are 270 in the European part of the Soviet Union. The Russians say they have 243. In addition, 171 are deployed in the Asian part of the Soviet Union. | Between 110 and 120; more than 60 deployed in East Germany and Czech., 40 along border of China, 10... opposite Southwest Asia & eastern Turkey and 10 are maintained in strategic reserve. | 20 or more, all in Soviet Asia |
| **Time** September 28, 1987 | No source given | 108 | 256 | 112 | 441 | 120 | 20 |
| **The Wall Street Journal** September 21, 1987 | Arms Control Association, U.S. officials | 108 | 256 | 112 | 1,323 [warheads] | 130 | To 140 approx. [warheads] |
| **The Washington Post** November 25, 1987 | Center for Defense Information, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency | 108 | 256 | 112 | 441<br>Location: 270 in the western Soviet Union, 171 east of the Ural Mountains | 110<br>Location: 60 in E. Germany and Czechoslovakia, 40 on the Sino-Soviet border, five maintained in strategic reserve, five targeted against Southwest Asia and eastern Turkey | 20<br>Location: western Soviet Union |
| **The Washington Times** November 25, 1987 | International Institute for Strategic Studies | 108 | 256 | 112 | 441 | 130 | Up to 20 |

Researched by Constance Cummings

* Unless otherwise noted, figures listed for the Pershing II, GLCM, SS-4, and SS-20 systems give the number of deployed *missiles*. In the case of the SS-12 and SS-23, the total number of *launchers* is listed to correspond with the unit of measure most commonly used by newspapers.

Staff released their most recent posture statement, that a different story emerged. The JCS revealed that as of September 30 the SS-24 had still not been deployed, and that the SS-17 and SS-19 multiple-warhead missiles had already been retired to ensure compliance with the SALT ceilings. Most reporters, and certainly most readers, never caught up with this story.

### Why the Numbers Matter

What are we to think, then, now that it is apparent that everyone—the government, private experts, and, as a result, reporters—has gotten so many facts about Soviet nuclear forces wrong? Perhaps, most important, the MOU illustrates that numbers do matter. They can now tell us that the Soviets had fewer long-range INF weapons than we assumed; more short-range INF missiles; no appreciable reload capability on its SS-20s; and that they have been conscientiously retiring strategic nuclear weapons to remain within numerical ceilings of the SALT treaties.

The discrepancies between publicly available intelligence estimates and the MOU also make it clear that in many respects the intelligence community has not been a consistently reliable source of information for journalists. This is due to a combination of factors: the intelligence community's inability to collect or analyze certain information, its intentional efforts to withhold information, and the bureaucratic style and organization of the intelligence agencies.

Perhaps, above all, the intelligence community is influenced by bureaucratic conceptions of secrecy. For example, specificity is equated with secrecy—the well-worn justification being that specific information may reveal "intelligence sources and methods." Moreover, the intelligence community, and most officials in the U.S. government, just do not see it as their task to fully share information with the public.

In addition, inaccuracies in intelligence gathering are often due to the circumstantial nature of most intelligence collected on the Soviet Union. As Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci testified on February 25 about the INF data, "I think we have to be clear that intelligence is not an exact science, that there are uncertainties in any intelligence estimates and situations change." Finally, the government's intelligence analysts spend most of their time monitoring Soviet forces for signs of imminent hostilities, shifts in targeting needs, and technical developments that might influence the capabilities of our current or future weapons systems. As a result, only a tiny portion of the billions of dollars spent on intelligence collection and analysis produces data that bear on the arms control questions that are on the front pages.

As the next summit approaches and START negotiations continue, the experience with the INF data suggests the opportunities and pitfalls that may present themselves as the public eavesdrops on the state-to-state information exchange. It should also remind us that, treaty or no treaty, the public debates on these questions have been predicated on some very wrong numbers and analyses, and, that, in all likelihood, they will continue to be. □

*WILLIAM M. ARKIN is director of the national security program at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. He is a former U.S. Army intelligence analyst and is principal author of the forthcoming volume of the* Nuclear Weapons Databook *series on Soviet nuclear weapons.*

# Letters

## Pike Praise

To the Editor:

"The Expanding Universe of John Pike"[March/April 1988] is a fascinating story. John Pike and the Federation of American Scientists fill a very useful role ceded to them by the United States government, to the great detriment of our national security and economy. Not only is David Evans of the *Chicago Tribune* correct in saying "people like Pike are essential to my work," but organizations like FAS are essential to the public good.

Specialization contributes greatly to credibility, and a good part of Pike's effectiveness derives from his limiting his interests. Enhancing Pike's effectiveness is the fact that he can be quoted. Too many individuals with detailed knowledge are silent because of their organizational affiliation.

Pike is not always right. Who is? But he serves a very important function.

Richard L. Garwin
IBM Fellow
Thomas J. Watson Research Center
Yorktown Heights, New York

## Pike Pique

To the Editor:

It is not astonishing that Mr. Pike gets so much attention on SDI. He is dead set against it, and the press seeks negative comments on the issue.

What is remarkable is that the media in general and your article as well fail to note that Pike has no technical credentials. Yet he is quoted on the technical aspects of SDI as if he does. He almost never quotes a scientist from his own organization, the Federation of American Scientists. He has publicly stated that we can shoot down enemy missiles with the Minuteman ICBMs—an utterly ridiculous notion that betrays his technical ignorance.

The author, Anne E. Rumsey, is right when she notes that Mr. Pike runs the risk of overexposure. Mr. Pike says *The Washington Post* is quoting him less often because that paper is more interested in the views of government players. Nonsense. *The Post* has probably concluded that Mr. Pike is a political hack with none of the technical and military expertise required of a good source on SDI.

Daniel O. Graham
Lieutenant General, USA (Ret.)
Director
High Frontier
Washington, D.C.

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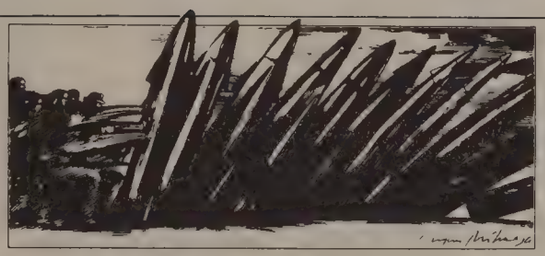

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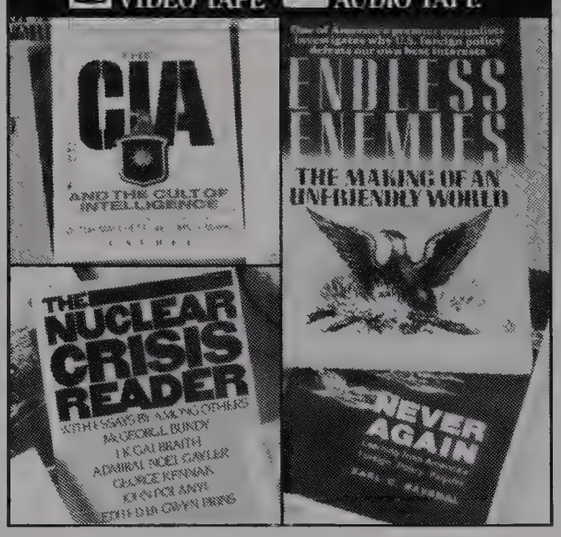
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# ARE THE SOVIETS

## Gorbachev has announced a new military doctrine based on "sufficiency" instead of superiority. Is this reality or just rhetoric?

BY JOERGEN DRAGSDAHL

I flew to Moscow with a mission. "Are the Soviets really serious about a new military doctrine?" I left feeling excited and also worried, thinking how the question betrays our inability in the West to grasp the true drama of the era of *glasnost*, *perestroika*, "new thinking" and new hopes for disarmament.

At the level of political theory, a major change in the Soviet Union is obvious. But as Andrei Kortunov, of the U.S.A.-Canada Institute, a leading government think tank, stressed to me from the very beginning of our interview, there is a growing "gap between political and military thinking." His colleague at the institute, Alexander Nikitin, added, "those who need to follow don't." And later Anatoly Belyayev, editor of the Soviet Peace Committee's bulletin *XX Century and Peace*, would sigh, "It is very difficult to find any common ground with our military.'

The willingness of top-level academic advisers and intellectuals to complain on the record is powerful evidence of just how serious some people are. I have visited Moscow as a journalist nearly a dozen times since 1978, and not once before—not even off the record—did one of these foreign policy experts utter such anti-military sentiments.

Equally surprising is the open disdain many express for the military's ineptness. The unobstructed landing by a West German teenage pilot in Red Square last summer has made the military the butt of popular jokes. Soviets say that all the swimming pools in Moscow have been closed because the military is afraid of a foreign submarine invasion.

Left to private conversations is the fear many feel about dangerously growing polarization—and the possibility of a right-wing backlash. "We need to keep the one-party system," one observer said, "or else we'll get two parties—one fascist, the other liberal, Western-oriented." The statement may seem exaggerated, but it communicates a very real concern, widespread among intellectuals.

The lesson is that we can no longer look at "the Soviets" as a uniform mass; the struggle to produce and implement new ideas is very serious. But the opposition to that struggle is quite serious, too.

In the Western sense of the word a "debate" is still hard to find. In public, no one challenges the basic values pronounced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. At a recent seminar, a Soviet general who found himself in conversation with a pair of journalists broke off when he realized he was being interviewed. "Let me just get my quotes from Gorbachev," he insisted, "so I can be precise."

When varying views are expressed, they are generally posed as differences of interpretation. And even then, open clashes among "debaters" are rare. Open polemics has not been a common part of the Russian experience—since well before 1917.

"Gorbachev wants to give people that experience," says a Soviet journalist, "but people simply don't understand that two equally justified opinions can exist." The result is often confusion along with the constructive ferment. When I accused a Soviet expert on Scandinavian security issues of mouthing official policy lines, he responded, "Can you say what official policy is now? I can't." Belyayev, of the U.S.A.-Canada Institute, explains: "We have a very acute debate; I only wish everybody knew what they are talking about. Very often, people who have the same stand start arguing. This is not a time for observers to make conclusions."

Proponents of the "new thinking"say the resistance they encounter most often takes the form of passivity. Nikitin complains that military leaders have failed to respond to Gorbachev's political initiatives with concrete changes in planning and weapons

**Celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution: Soviet soldiers on parade on November 7, 1987.**

# REALLY SERIOUS?

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acquisitions. Or worse, he says, they give lip service to new concepts and then "interpret" them in a way that dispenses with their original intent.

Real debate is also hampered by the fact that glasnost all but stops at the portals of the Soviet Ministry of Defense. Even Kortunov, who has co-authored several authoritative articles on Soviet security policy, complains, "We still don't know much about our military posture. Not much information is released."

Add to this the fact that the issues themselves are highly complicated, and become no less so because the directives from above are encouraging truly fundamental rethinking. Nikitin describes a study at the U.S.A.-Canada Institute prompted by Gorbachev's proposal for a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The study concluded that Soviet influence would be dramatically diminished in such a world. "This shows what happens with good slogans when implementation is attempted," Nikitin comments dryly. "We will be killing our influence as a superpower by making the world safer.'

### New Thinking

Applied to military strategy and doctrine, ideological changes are striking at the very core of traditional precepts: ruling out "victory" in a major war, dismissing centuries-old threat assessments and reversing military planning from an emphasis on offense to defense.

By now it is old-hat that a nuclear war cannot be won. Georgi Arbatov, a key Gorbachev adviser and director of the U.S.A.-Canada Institute, is fond of saying that nuclear missiles have become obsolete. A sufficient nuclear deterrent, he says, would be a stockpile inside the Soviet Union itself, to be detonated in case of attack. That way, says Arbatov, the Soviet people would get fast relief, while the bloody capitalists would be left to suffer a slow and agonizing death in a nuclear winter.

In a more serious vein, many Soviet specialists argue that to deter a nuclear strike through the threat of retaliation, one needs only a minimal nuclear arsenal. Numerical parity is no longer a must.

In a recent issue of *Kommunist*, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, Kortunov and co-authors Vitaly Churkin and Sergei Karaganov argue that "maybe for the first time in our country's history a situation exists in which it is possible to say with a sufficient degree of certainty that there is no aggressor who, being in a sane state of mind, can violate [the Soviet Union]." The authors find it hard to imagine with what purpose Western armies would invade the territories of the socialist states. This most basic fear of the Soviet people—a replay of the June 1941 Nazi invasion, or indeed, invasions throughout centuries past—is no longer rational. What the authors *are* concerned with is the danger of an escalation of a crisis into a war that no one intends.

### Impossible Victory

As part of an effort to get the military leadership involved in the new thinking, officers have been invited, since 1986, to a series of seminars with philosophers and civilian experts on military affairs. After the first several sessions, according to one participant, the military representatives seemed to grasp that the use of nuclear weapons in war could not bring victory. They then began arguing for increased emphasis on conventional options. The civilians reportedly had difficulty persuading them that a conventional war in Europe would also be without winners.

The disaster at Chernobyl, and to a lesser extent Bhopal, appears to have persuaded many top thinkers that this is so. In a 1986 article in *Kommunist*, L. Feoktistov argued that the difference in destructive capacity of conventional as opposed to nuclear and chemical weapons has virtually disappeared. Any uncontrolled incineration of fuel stockpiles in a modern industrial center would, said Feoktistov, lead to explosions releasing the equivalent of "dozens of megatons" of energy. The destruction of dams at hydroelectric plants would result in catastrophic flooding of thousands of square miles; even earthquakes could result from shifting weight on the tectonic plates. Massive leaking from damaged chemical and processing plants would have effects comparable to chemical-biological warfare. The destruction of nuclear power plants would have the same consequences as nuclear weapons.

In the February 8 edition of *Pravda*, Minister of Defense Dmitri Yazov gave this view an official stamp: "Conventional war is becoming increasingly unmanageable in terms of both the gravity of its consequences and the magnitude of losses. Slowly but surely, it is becoming obvious that winning such a war will be just as difficult [as winning a nuclear war]."

Under such circumstances, the *prevention* of war becomes paramount. Until now, the Warsaw Pact has maintained a very offensive posture—while all the time proclaiming defensive intentions—stressing the need to return the battle to enemy territory if attacked. Over-insurance in military capability has been the norm.

The first significant sign of change was a speech by Gorbachev at the 27th Communist Party Congress in February 1986, where he referred to "limitations on military potential within the boundaries of reasonable sufficiency." "The task of ensuring security is increasingly seen as a political problem, and it can only be resolved by political means," he said. At an international Peace Forum in Moscow during the same month, he called for military planning that would "exclude the possibility of surprise attack." A few days later at the 18th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, Gorbachev declared: "We shall not take a single step in excess of the demands of sensible, sufficient defense."

Warsaw Pact leaders followed suit last May with a statement published in *Pravda*, which outlined a military doctrine ostensibly "subordinated to the task of preventing war." As a main objective, the statement called for "reductions in Europe of armed forces and conventional armaments to a level at which none of the sides, in ensuring its defense, would have the means for a surprise attack on the other side or for mounting offensive operations generally." The statement also invited NATO leaders for consultations on the military doctrines of both alliances.

Sweet words. But what exactly did they mean? Some experts and advisers to Gorbachev apparently thought further elaboration was in order; in the past year, numerous articles on the concept of reasonable sufficiency have appeared.

### The Battle of Kursk

One of the more interesting of these articles is by a senior researcher at the U.S.A.-Canada Institute, A. Kokoshin. At great length, Kokoshin analyzes one of the great battles of World War II, the Battle of Kursk, in which the Red Army dealt a crippling blow to Hitler's armored forces. Kokoshin credits the great Soviet war hero Marshall of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov with devising the winning strategy, based on prepared defenses of mines and antitank weapons. In turn, he attacks Stalin for insufficient attention to strategic defense and blames him for "the Red Army's heavy casualties and our country's loss of enormous territory." Kokoshin concludes that "the necessity to carry the war in its very beginning to the enemy's territory [is] substantiated neither scientifically, by analysis of the specific situation, nor by operational calculations . . . ."

The article can be read as a strong attack on current military planning, which Kokoshin implies is stuck in an offensive posture inherited from World War II. This

kind of argument by historical analogy is common in the Soviet Union. Kokoshin makes his point clearer with an endorsement of an alternative, the modern-day concept of "non-provocative defense."

### A Non-Offensive Defense

The definitive, one should think, words came from Gorbachev himself in a September 1987 article published in *Pravda*. The secretary-general defined military sufficiency as "a structure of a state's armed forces which is enough to repulse any possible aggression, but which is inadequate for the conduct of offensive actions." He added: "The first step towards this could be the controlled withdrawal of nuclear and other offensive weapons from border areas, with the subsequent creation along those borders of strips of rarefied armaments and demilitarized zones between potential . . . adversaries. But in principle, we should work for the dissolution of military blocs, the liquidation of bases on foreign territory and the return home of all troops stationed abroad."

Anders Boserup and other Western advocates of non-offensive defense [see "Lessons from Abroad," *Nuclear Times*, March/April 1988] can easily recognize these words as their own. Coincidence it is not. Gorbachev's evocation of such ideas has its inspiration, largely in the person of Lev Mendelevitch, director of the Evaluations and Planning Directorate in the Soviet foreign ministry.

Mendelevitch, who from 1984 to 1986 held the plum pre-retirement post of Soviet ambassador to Denmark, is "one of their five best" diplomats, according to former head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Paul Warnke. While in Denmark, he became interested in work there and in Germany on non-offensive defense. Sources at the Soviet embassy in Copenhagen say that, at first, his advisers dismissed this work as the naive, idealistic dreams of academics and leftists. But Mendelevitch thought differently. He ordered his staff to collect all the literature they could, apparently believing that non-offensive defense could provide a breakthrough for achieving conventional disarmament.

Mendelevitch's expectations for a peaceful retirement in Denmark were interrupted when he was called back to take his present position following Gorbachev's restructuring of the foreign ministry. Despite severe health problems, he has wielded considerable influence. Associates say, only half jokingly, that if political guidelines don't exist for some matter, Mendelevitch invents them on the spot.

Last June, I met with Mendelevitch for an off-the-record conversation about non-offensive defense. For the record, he would only say that since no foreign government has yet made concrete proposals for non-offensive defense, "We don't know what it is." He characterized the ideas of Western

**Lev Mendelevitch: His interest in non-offensive defense has in turn inspired Gorbachev.**

European opposition parties and scholars as "guided by good intentions." Then he pointed to a proposal by Gorbachev and the Warsaw Pact for a zone from which the "most offensive" weapons would be withdrawn. "Maybe you can find in this proposal some ideas close to non-offensive defense," he said.

More than Mendelevitch's diplomatic background, such caution reflected an absence at the time of top-level decisions on the issue. After a review by a small group of advisers, however, Gorbachev was able to write his September article in *Pravda*.

As recently as January 1987, a standard Soviet military text on "tactics" was published that continued to set forth the traditional doctrine: "Offense is the main form of battle." But by October, Defense Minister Yazov had reversed this: "Soviet military doctrine considers defense as the main form of military operation."

The matter is not settled, however.

### Western Responses

Soviet researchers have yet to publish any studies with the detail of Western papers on how a non-offensive military posture would look (the U.S.A.-Canada Institute may publish one soon).

Such detail is badly needed. The by-now frequently heard phrase "reasonable sufficiency" begs the question, "For what?" Many articles and roundtable proceedings have been published on the subject. Military planners insist that a proper defense requires a capability for counterattack. But doesn't such a capability also serve for offensive purposes?

Really opening up this debate will require a critical—and *open*—examination of the recent past. Just such an attempt was made with regard to the late-1970s, early-1980s Soviet buildup of SS-20 medium-range missiles. In April of last year, *Isvestia* commentator Alexander Bovin publicly sought an explanation from the military for the buildup. He got an answer notable for its evasiveness. Vitaly Churkin, who heads a newly established Moscow institute for European studies, recently called the deployment of these and other missiles in Europe "incomprehensible."

Glasnost in military affairs is still quite lacking. In his *Kommunist* article, Kortunov made a strong argument for openness, saying it is of "enormous significance for strengthening the security of the U.S.S.R." Journalists have for at least a year been calling on the military to fall in step. Apparently somebody is holding out.

So the question remains, are the Soviets really serious? Non-offensive defense has grown from an embryonic idea to an officially endorsed ideal. This indicates a slow overcoming of resistance—a process which could lead far. But much is up to Western responses. In *Kommunist*, Kortunov argues that the main threat to the Soviet Union is now economic. Through inflammatory rhetoric, bluff and threats, he says, the West is trying to induce the Soviets to engage in a costly new conventional arms race that will destroy it economically. He seems afraid the West will succeed. The consequences would be enormous; the required economic sacrifices could only be imposed through extreme repression.

Today there are people in the Soviet Union in high places looking for signs from the West of a desire for disarmament—signs to use against those entrenched interests who are resisting new thinking. How serious are *we*? □

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ALTERNATIVE SECURITY/DONNA EBERWINE

# A COMMON SPACE

## ISCOS APPEALS FOR PEACE MOVEMENT SUPPORT FOR FORGING MISSILES INTO SPACECRAFT

What could a onetime lobbyist for the defense industry, a retired astronaut and a former Air Force war planner have in common with grassroots peace activists?

"Star Wars," says Edgar Mitchell, the astronaut. The testing and deployment of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), he says, threatens all future peaceful uses of space. Worse, the combination of laser weapons, computer control, and the extreme mobility of a space-based system means "we approach a probability of one of an accidental attack sometime in the not-too-distant future."

Mitchell, the sixth man to set foot on the moon, made this pitch to some 250 peace activists at "Make Space for Peace," a conference held in mid-February in Indialantic, Florida, 20 miles south of Cape Canaveral. Mitchell was joined by Carol Rosin, a former lobbyist for Fairchild Industries, and Maj. Gen. Jack Kidd, a former war planner for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all directors of the Washington-based Institute for Security and Cooperation in Outer Space (ISCOS). Sponsored by ISCOS and the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, "Make Space for Peace" was an effort to rally peace activists in opposition to Star Wars and in support of an alternative security agenda based on international cooperation in space.

"We face a window of opportunity," Mitchell told the activists, "but it's rapidly closing on us. There are no weapons in space now, but tests show we could have them there within a few years. Once they're there, there's no turning back."

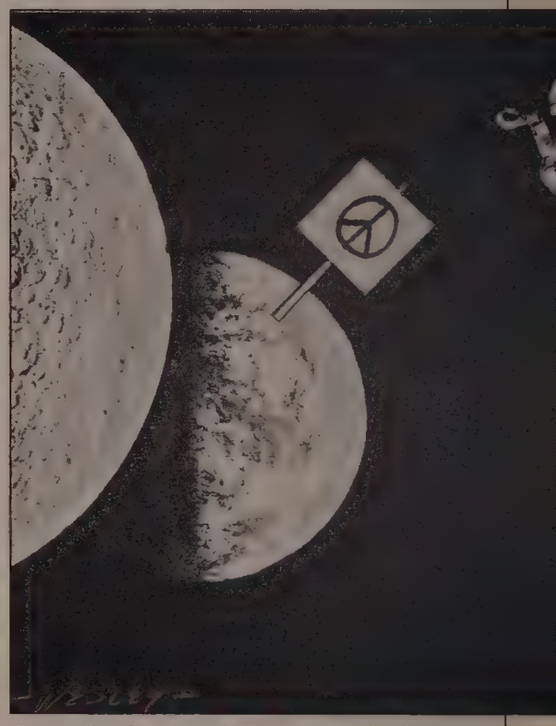
**A Threatened Vision.** Space, the "next frontier," says ISCOS, is no place for weapons. But it is a natural environment for alternative security arrangements. The view of Earth from space, which Mitchell saw when he flew to the moon in his 1971 Apollo mission, is of a planet without boundaries, with all humanity sharing a single, interdependent environment. From this same vantage point, satellites have given us unprecedented capabilities for verifying arms control treaties, monitoring life-threatening weather developments, and tracking long-term climatic changes, deforestation and desertification.

But the vision of a new realm for cooperative human ventures could be destroyed, ISCOS believes, by Star Wars. Weapons in space, they say, would create an unprecedented drive for superpower hegemony, where to date no nation has yet challenged another's right of access. The need for secrecy and control over space-based weapons systems would vastly reduce, and probably eliminate, the possibilities for cooperative development and use of space. And the orbiting "space junk" that would result from even testing—not to mention battles between—space-based weapons would create such hazards for satellites and spacecraft that space would likely become unusable for future generations.

**Space Alternatives.** The potential benefits of international political and scientific cooperation have already been hinted at. The 1957 International Geophysical Year (IGY), in which thousands of scientists from around the world coordinated research efforts under "demilitarized" conditions, revolutionized scientists' understanding of Earth. The Apollo-Soyuz rendezvous in 1975, viewed by millions throughout the world, reinforced *detente* with its symbolic superpower "handshake in space." Today, COSPAS/SARSAT, a search-and-rescue program sponsored by France, Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union, saves hundreds of lives each year.

ISCOS believes that, if dramatically expanded, such efforts could lay the groundwork for an entire international alternative security system. An "open skies" policy based on a global satellite network accessible to all countries alike could become the basis for new efforts at peacekeeping and conflict resolution. A 1978 proposal by France for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency, which would provide satellite data to countries around the world, has won wide support in the United Nations.

Besides offering new means for solving international conflicts, ISCOS says an expanded international satellite system could help ensure the continuing habitability of planet Earth, by enabling countries to monitor environmental change and by assisting in the search for new resources. This idea was endorsed by astronaut Sally Ride in her 1987 report on the future of the U.S. space program. Her proposal for a "mission to planet Earth" has become a cornerstone for a planned 1992 International Space Year, sponsored by more than 20 countries. A larger, similarly conceived space-based International Biosphere-Geosphere Program is under study by the International Council of Scientific Unions, which sponsored the 1957 IGY.



On the political side, ISCOS believes that joint space exploration ventures could help build confidence between nations—a key component to any alternative security system. (Cooperation would also save billions of dollars in space-program budgets.) Georgy Grechko, a Soviet cosmonaut who flew in three Salyut space-station missions, told peace activists at "Make Space for Peace" that his country supports a joint U.S.-Soviet mission to Mars as a substitute for the arms race. "Competition has brought us to the brink of catastrophe," Grechko told the audience, "Let's become not superpowers, but super-partners."

The trend, however, has been the opposite. The Reagan administration has dramatically shifted the U.S. space program toward military priorities. Whereas in 1980 the budgets of NASA and the Pentagon's space program were roughly equal, today Pentagon spending on space is more than

double that of NASA. If Star Wars proceeds toward testing and deployment, ISCOS says, this trend will accelerate, subordinating all but the most basic civilian goals in space to military ones.

Add to this the fact that, as Mitchell says, weapons deployed in space, controlled by computers and with extremely short delivery times, would vastly increase the possibility of accidental attack—and the common ground between peace activists and ISCOS's space advocates is clear.

But while most peace activists share ISCOS's opposition to Star Wars, its proposals for multi-billion-dollar space cooperation programs are for many more difficult to accept. At the Indialantic

conference, a handful of dissenters complained that the space program has already diverted unjustified billions away from pressing human problems—all for the sake of, as Leslie Wurster of Orlando put it, "the satisfaction of scientific egos and personal searches for glory."

In response, ISCOS argues—as space advocates traditionally have—that the benefits of space exploration and development ultimately do improve the quality of human life. Our technologies for weather prediction, environmental monitoring and arms control verification are all outgrowths of space programs. And these are only the most immediate benefits; others include crop management, urban planning, pollution control and famine relief.

But ISCOS offers another, more compelling argument: a limited version of the peace movement's own call for economic "conversion." Implementation of cooperative security programs in space, ISCOS says, would give the $100-billion aerospace industry—with its hundreds of thousands of workers, stockholders and bureaucratic allies—something to do besides make weapons. And since the necessary technologies are already in place, ISCOS believes "forging missiles into spacecraft" is a more immediately attainable goal than a radical conversion to earthbound public works and social programs.

This kind of limited conversion is not without precedent. The Kennedy administration's buildup of NASA in the 1960s redirected the efforts of major defense contractors from strategic weapons production into the Apollo space program. The shift cushioned the defense industry and preempted what might otherwise have been strong opposition to cutbacks in a $45-billion-a-year intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) program the Eisenhower administration had maintained.

Today the idea of a space-industry conversion has won increasing support in the scientific community, especially among those concerned about the militarization of space. "It's increasingly attractive to mainstream space scientists," says Pete Didisheim, an aide to Rep. George Brown (D-Calif.), ranking Democrat on the House Space Science and Applications subcommittee. "They see the Soviet space program doing exciting things. U.S. scientists are looking at that with envy."

**The Legislative Agenda.** In Congress, alternative security in space is also beginning to take hold. Rep. George Brown has introduced legislation that would make human space settlement part of NASA's agenda, as an alternative to the arms race. Rep. Robert Mrazek (D-N.Y.) has introduced a bill to create a national commission to study alternative security arrangements based on international satellite monitoring. And Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) is sponsoring legislation to support a joint U.S.-Soviet mission to Mars.

Most liberals in Congress, however, have focused less on reviving the civilian space program than on simply stopping Star Wars. Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Rep. Les AuCoin (D-Ore.) are sponsoring an Outer Space Protection Act that would impose an all-out ban on weapons in space. Others in Congress have tried to bring about Star Wars' slow death by binding the administration to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty (with its ban on space weapons tests) and by holding funding for SDI at levels far below administration requests.

For ISCOS Director Carol Rosin, these efforts have been welcome but are not enough. Withholding funds has, she agrees, slowed down and even eliminated some weapons. But Rosin warns the "momentum of vested interests" is such that Star Wars is rapidly approaching a threshold. "If we haven't stopped weapons research and development within one year after the presidential elections," she says, "I don't think we're going to be able to stop it."

The way to stop it, Rosin and her ISCOS colleagues believe, is for peace activists to step up their opposition to Star Wars, but also to unite behind an alternative-security agenda for space.

"If you and I continue to proceed with protesting, we're going to fall into holes; we're not going to be able to stop it," Rosin told her audience at the "Make Space for Peace" conference. Activists must also "talk with the military space planners and the chiefs of the military, with the heads of the defense industries . . . there are people in the SDI and weapons offices who think [SDI] is a dumb, stupid, dangerous idea." And in the face of progress on arms control, she adds, many in the defense industry are already concerned about what to do next if the arms race starts winding down.

But as important as congressional action and grassroots activism, says Rosin, is the need "to elect a president who 'gets' this information." Only a president who firmly opposes weapons in space, but who also can win support in the defense industry, will provide the leadership needed to reverse U.S. space policy.

And if one candidate were to grasp these concepts *before* the November elections, Rosin believes he could find he has an edge on his rivals. "Mondale got one-third of what we said—that space was the divisive issue in the Reagan campaign," says Rosin. "But he didn't get that we're talking jobs and profits." □

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JOHN FEFFER

# POLICY FOR PEOPLE

## ORGANIZERS USE NEW THEMES AND METHODS TO TAKE ALTERNATIVE SECURITY TO THE GRASSROOTS

**Linda Stout: Moving rural North Carolinians from Japan-bashing to arms control.**

Linda Stout organizes in rural North Carolina, where conservatism runs high, reading levels dip low, and abstract concepts are about as popular as Libyan colonels and sushi dinners. Conventional wisdom says peace issues can't find an audience in this blue-collar area. But that hasn't stopped Stout.

In four short years, her Piedmont Peace Project pushed Carolina Congressman Bill Hefner's voting record on peace issues from zero to 80 percent, according to the Council for a Livable World. A conservative southern Democrat, Hefner was responding to pressure from constituents who have shown a growing interest in arms control and budget priorities. These constituents, in turn, have become vocal thanks largely to Stout's efforts to make alternatives to the national security state relevant to the grassroots.

Stout's project is affiliated with the Alternative Defense Network (ADN), part of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. With organizers like Stout throughout the country, ADN is bringing the concept of alternative security from the lofty heights of academia and think tanks to the more accessible public domain.

**Empowering the People.** "Pedagogy of empowerment" is hardly a household phrase in the North Carolina piedmont, but Linda Stout knows exactly what it means. It means wresting political power away from so-called experts by helping people educate themselves on the issues. Behind successes like Rep. Hefner's voting turnaround lies pioneering work by Stout and her colleagues directed toward empowering the working-class residents of Concord, North Carolina.

The efforts have entailed not only a new pedagogical approach but also the development of new materials. For barely literate mill workers and tobacco farmers, briefing papers on the conventional balance in Europe are just not appropriate. Lack of reading skills, however, does not mean lack of political skills. "Low-income people are more politically sophisticated when given the right information than the middle class," Stout insists.

Despite the plethora of alternative security writing, however, finding the right information has not been easy. "There is nothing produced in the peace movement that's written for adults reading at the third-grade level," she says.

Stout's custom-made curriculum focuses not just on military matters, but on economic tie-ins that directly affect rural workers. By emphasizing the growing military budget, the burgeoning trade deficit, and the deplorable working conditions in other countries, Stout can move an audience from protectionism and Japan-bashing to fair trade and nuclear weapons reductions. "In 10 minutes you can get them from cussing the damn foreigners to cussing the American government!" she says.

**Educating the Educated.** In other parts of the country, ADN organizers are using related techniques to target the more traditional, mostly middle-class constituencies of peace and disarmament groups. Jenny Knight, disarmament coordinator for the American Friends Service Committee's New York office, says many of these peace activists converse freely on nuclear issues, but get tongue-tied on such topics as NATO reform.

Drawing on the work Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who advocates breaking down barriers between teacher and student, Knight has developed a role-playing game, "The Common Security Dialog." The game gives peace activists "a chance to walk through the change in thinking that common security implies," says Knight. By having participants play the roles of adversary countries, Knight introduces concepts such as non-provocative and non-nuclear defense, moving players beyond the traditional limits of the arms-control paradigm.

A similar role-playing game, "The Debt Game," developed by Patricia Brady of AFSC's Global Hunger/World Development Program, lets players feel the frustrations developing countries experience in the international monetary system. "Americans are basically very empathetic people," says Brady. "Given the opportunity to be actually involved in a situation at the micro level, Americans will re-evaluate their cherished myths."

One such myth, says Brady, is rugged individualism: "If you don't do well, it's your own fault." The game, she says, is "especially valuable for people from middle and upper classes who do not instinctively know what it means to be victims of structural oppression."

Played at a recent "Real Security" conference, sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), the game gave labor leaders a chance to restructure the international lending system. The two teams came up with two solutions: one camp stalemated and faced worldwide catastrophe; the other shared wealth and, in roughly 10 minutes, created a new world order. The lesson? The basic tenet of alternative security: the stakes are broader than the interests of individual countries, and the system works best when it is not played as a zero-sum game. □

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# ALTERNATIVES TO DETERRENCE

## AN EXCERPT FROM THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF *FATEFUL VISIONS*

*Five years ago, Joseph Nye, Jr., Albert Carnesale, and other members of the Harvard Study Group wrote a book,* Living with Nuclear Weapons *(Bantam, 1983), advising the public to resign itself to nuclear deterrence. Since 1983, however, things have changed. Now, even prominent, liberal foreign policymakers like Nye, Carnesale, and Graham Allison—who in the past have advised the National Security Council and the Department of Defense on nuclear issues and who all teach at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government—have begun to examine alternatives to deterrence.*

*In* Fateful Visions *(Ballinger, 1987), the three editors have compiled a series of essays on "contending visions of peace . . . exploring their completeness, feasibility and desirability." They argue that the "search for feasible and desirable alternatives [to deterrence] should engage the strategic community as well as current visionaries." And although they warn that visionaries "too often resemble the judge of a singing contest who decided to award the prize to the second of two contestants after hearing only the first," they take seriously those who advocate alternatives to deterrence. They even concede that "the appropriate test of an alternative [vision] is not that it is sane and reasonable, just more sane and more reasonable than the current system." This is a striking concession. That this group should now take seriously proponents of nuclear abolitionism, non-provocative defense, improved U.S.-Soviet relations and world government (among others) is a significant departure.*

*What follows is an excerpt from the editors' concluding chapter of* Fateful Visions.

**Joseph Nye, Jr., at Harvard's Kennedy School: The nuclear fuse can be lengthened.**

"Where there is no vision, the people perish." So concluded the Proverbs a millennium before Christ. So it remains in the fifth decade of the nuclear era.

Many visionaries, and vision followers, are literally utopian: they seek a place that is nowhere in this world. Shaken by the awesome risks of the international system in the nuclear age, they demand some "final solution" to the problem of security. Most of the visions analyzed in this volume propose "endpoint utopias"—conditions that once achieved would resolve the problem. The sad truth is that this life offers no such resting place.

Neither technology nor political change alone offers a solution to the political dilemmas that stand in the way of a lasting peace. While most weapons- and defense-focused visions fail to specify the political context, and most visions of political change neglect the technological context, an adequate vision must address both. The major policy direction derived from consideration of abolition or near-abolition is the desirability of having too few nuclear weapons to destroy civilization as we know it. But the essential prerequisite is major political change, both in U.S.-Soviet relations and in the behavior of other nations.

In the editors' view, two paths together hold the greatest promise for policy makers today and scholarly exploration tomorrow. One begins with "lengthening the fuse" and extends to changing the military forces of the United States, our allies, and our adversaries enough to give the United States a credible conventional deterrent and only a minimal residual nuclear force. A successful program for achieving this objective would rely as much on political and organizational changes as on technological innovation. The second path envisages a more fundamental, longer-term evolution of the U.S.-Soviet bilateral relationship.

The United States' nuclear strategy and the forces that have evolved to support it are remnants of a fundamentally different era. When U.S. nuclear forces and doctrine first began to take shape, there were no nuclear threats to American territory, forces or allies, and no prospects for conventional aggression against the U.S. homeland. Our principal concern was the potential for Soviet conventional aggression in Europe. America's threat to meet such aggression with nuclear use was then a credible one, for we had both the means and the will to carry it out. With a nuclear monopoly, the United States felt safe from the societal destruction that nuclear weapons could inflict. As the Soviet Union obtained a countervailing nuclear arsenal, U.S. leaders could no longer count on nuclear war remaining one-sided, and the U.S. threat to meet Soviet conventional aggression in Europe (or elsewhere) with a nuclear response was slowly transformed into a threat of mutual suicide. It seemed more and more unlikely that a rational leader would take such action, and the threat to do so appeared less and less credible. Of course, the very existence of large numbers of nuclear weapons, their widespread integration with conventional forces in potential theaters of armed conflict, and the fragility of some systems for controlling their use create a

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danger of unintended nuclear escalation. But these factors not only contribute to deterrence; they also increase the danger of inadvertent and potentially catastrophic nuclear war. The West should and can modify its strategy and restructure its forces in ways that reduce these dangers while maintaining adequate deterrence.

The first step is to achieve a conventional military balance that will permit reduced reliance on nuclear weapons to deter conventional aggression. Negotiated reductions in conventional forces in Central Europe might be supplemented by qualitative improvements in the West's non-nuclear force, to compensate for Soviet quantitative advantages. In particular, technological innovations (such as smart weapons) permitting non-nuclear attacks against conventional forces previously vulnerable only to nuclear attack should be a high priority.

As the balance of conventional forces becomes more even, shorter-range nuclear weapons could be withdrawn from potential areas of armed conflict. The military cost would be far less than imagined by those who fear stepping onto the "slippery slope" to denuclearization of Europe or other theaters. If, despite our effort to deter it, Soviet conventional aggression should occur, our longer-range missiles and aircraft could be employed against selected targets virtually anywhere in the world.

Nuclear and non-nuclear forces must be organizationally and geographically separate if a decision to use military force on a large scale is to be independent of a decision to use nuclear weapons. Yet, except for the strategic nuclear arsenal, most nuclear forces are integrated with general purpose forces. The separation of nuclear and non-nuclear systems would require all three military services to abandon well-established command structures and deployment and training practices.

The nuclear fuse can be lengthened further by reducing each side's incentives for a pre-emptive attack against the other side's nuclear forces and/or associated command, control and communication systems. Strengthening these networks can add a substantial increment to the fuse, and efforts in that direction should continue to receive high priority.

The most important factor, however, is the process of change in U.S.-Soviet relations. Any comprehensive vision of a world beyond MAD [Mutual Assured Destruction] must involve the political evolution of the U.S.-Soviet relationship to a point of significant superpower cooperation.

Could U.S.-Soviet relations change over the next quarter-century as significantly as U.S.-Chinese relations have changed in the last 15 years? Clues to the possibility of such change are to be found in the decline of Soviet power, the mellowing of Soviet foreign policy ambitions and the expansion of U.S.-Soviet cooperation. In some combination, these developments might constitute a path of political evolution to a world substantially different than today's.

**The fact that nuclear war is possible does not mean it is inevitable.**

It is becoming clear that the Soviet's centralized command-and-control economy is incompatible with successful advanced industrial economic development. Central management of a large industrial economy has proven inefficient in allocation and inept in incentives. In an era of rapid technological change in microelectronics and computers, a measure of decentralization and free thinking may be prerequisites for success. Nothing so constrains ambitions as the absence of capability. As former Soviet Chief of the General Staff Orgakov recognized clearly, a nation that lags in its advanced technologies, such as computers and microelectronics, will inevitably fall behind.

General Secretary Gorbachev has put the point bluntly: unless the deterioration of the past decade is sharply reversed, the Soviet Union will not enter the 21st century as a great power. The current Soviet leadership is much clearer about the failures of performance than about prescriptions. But it seems plausible that for some time the Soviet Union will be preoccupied with internal affairs, as it concentrates first on righting its economy through common sense and pragmatism; experimenting with degrees of openness, liberalization and democratization; and downgrading ambitions in the Third World.

Despite their risks, such circumstances, if wisely managed, could present the best opportunity in the postwar period to advance our interests and the cause of peace. Policymakers might begin by recognizing the real problems in the American economy that require urgent attention at home. Still more important should be the recognition that for the indefinite future the Soviet Union will remain capable of destroying what Americans hold dear. Any sober assessment of the common threats the United States and Soviet Union face, and the parallel interests they share, should lead to a significant strengthening of processes of cooperation and parallel action.

No common interest is more fundamental than avoidance of the major nuclear war of which the superpowers would be the first victims. Other serious threats include the spread of nuclear weapons, the spread of advanced conventional weapons, terrorism, regional wars that could engage the superpowers, and worldwide environmental degradation. In each instance, the United States and the Soviet Union have common as well as competing interests. A sound American view, however, should emphasize the commonalities. Such cooperation could stop well short of condominium and still radically reduce the risks of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

These twin visions of lengthening the fuse and political evolution are not only desirable but may actually be achievable. Indeed, though our crystal ball is quite hazy, it suggests that over the next half-century the Soviet Union will account for no more than half the risk of mass destruction of Americans. If so, political evolution and cooperation beyond the superpowers will be a necessary condition for radically reducing nuclear risks, and an adequate process vision will have to include elements of internationalism and the strengthening of international institutions.

The fact that nuclear war is possible does not mean that it is inevitable. If, through appropriate processes, the United States and the Soviet Union can reduce the risks of nuclear war each year, then nuclear war need not even be likely. Of course, no one can specify with confidence the risks of such a war today, or know exactly how much a given action would reduce the risks. The point is to expose the concept of pessimistic inevitability as misguided and mistaken.

Realization of the process visions sketched here will require significant changes in the behavior of both superpowers, and more from the Soviet Union than from the United States. This judgment reflects not only the authors' national identity, but also our conviction that the peaceful proclivities of liberal democracies offer the best hope for the long term.

Our process vision—though we believe it offers hope—is certainly not the only solution to the problem of avoiding nuclear catastrophe. This volume is an interim progress report, which we hope will stimulate further thinking. We offer not a conclusion, but a beginning. □

R & A/ROBERT SCHAEFFER

# DEVIL'S ADVOCATES

## TWO BOOKS DISPUTE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT U.S. MILITARY POLICY

**Defending Europe without Nuclear Weapons** *by George Perkovich ($5.00, 65 pages, Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 20 Park Plaza, Boston, MA 02116, 1987);* **Strengthening American Security: A briefing manual on framing the arms control message for conservative voters** *by Freeze Voter Institute ($5.00, 28 pages, Freeze Voter Institute, P.O. Box 27474, Washington, DC 20008, 1987).*

Peace activists regularly contest the way policymakers perceive the world. Their aim is to create a debate where none existed and test the underlying assumptions that drive the arms race.

*Defending Europe Without Nuclear Weapons* and *Strengthening American Security* both attempt to foment debate and try to play the well-intentioned role of devil's advocate. George Perkovich disputes the widely held view that Soviet conventional forces in Europe are vastly superior to NATO armies; the anonymous writer at the Freeze Voter Institute (FVI) disputes the idea that a nuclear weapons freeze is not in the interest of conservatives or is inimical to U.S. "strength."

**Defending Europe.** Perkovich, a World Policy Institute fellow, sets out to dispel the myth of Soviet conventional military superiority. At first, this seems a daunting task, since by most accounts the Warsaw Pact has more tanks and troops than NATO. But Perkovich patiently shows how numbers can deceive. The totals conceal the fact that few Warsaw Pact tanks are ready to roll—many are in mothballs or are far from the "front"—and that many Soviet divisions are unprepared or unavailable for combat on short notice. When "readiness" is taken into account, many pact advantages disappear. The same is true when "quality" is considered. Pact arms are inferior to NATO's and its troops are not as well trained, equipped or led.

Numbers can be deceiving in another way. Perkovich points out that it is difficult to squeeze offensive forces into attack routes in sufficient numbers to achieve the overwhelming superiority needed for success. In conventional war, it is only local advantages that count. The fact that an opponent may possess theater-wide superiority does not mean much in battle. That is why smaller armies regularly defeat larger ones: they manage to concentrate their forces in such a way as to achieve local battlefield superiority.

Based on his excellent review of the military balance in Europe, Perkovich concludes that the Soviets cannot be certain of victory in either a short- or long-term conventional war. And it is "the uncertainty of victory that deters the Soviets from attacking," he says.

This uncertainty, he adds, could be made more pronounced if NATO were to make a series of "defensive" improvements: building extensive fortifications along the West German-East German border, building up NATO ammunition supplies, improving the United States' ability to transport troops to Europe in a crisis, providing shelters for NATO aircraft in airfields across Europe, and negotiating conventional arms reductions with the Soviets.

In strictly military terms, Perkovich's point is well made and his book may reduce anxieties about the Soviet conventional threat in Europe. But because he concedes important assumptions—that the Soviet Union still poses a "threat" to Europe—he is unable to challenge important issues or depart from the consensus that NATO forces need to be beefed up. Like his nominal opponents, Perkovich takes the Soviet threat as a given, views the Cold War as an inescapable reality, and regards NATO defensive improvements as relatively "inexpensive" and politically benign.

Does the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact threaten *Western* Europe? Evidence suggests that the pact is used primarily against member countries: East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. To the extent that the Soviet Union threatened Western Europe during successive Berlin crises from 1948 to 1963, this threat has measurably receded. For all intents and purposes, the U.S.-Soviet conflict over the division of Germany ended 25 years ago. Since then the superpowers have recognized the two Germanies, and the two Germanies have recognized each other. In this context it seems absurd to propose the construction of a "Maginot Line" in West Germany or that such a project would be politically benign. It would undoubtedly be viewed as NATO's answer to the Berlin Wall, hardly a way to win friends in the region.

Perkovich does not consider that it may be these political developments that have "deterred" the pact rather than the "uncertainty" of victory in a conventional war. Despite his impressive argumentation, Perkovich does not depart from the basic NATO assumptions about political-military affairs in Europe: that the two Germanies should be remilitarized but not reunited; and that the United States should continue to defend Europe on the cheap—either with nuclear weapons or with defensive fortifications. His critique does not lead to any significant policy departure. It shares status quo assumptions and only modifies conservative conclusions.

**Strengthening American Security.** Freeze Voter Institute takes devil's advocacy one step further. In this startling document, FVI adopts the conservative voter's assumption—that the Soviet Union is a very threatening menace to the United States—to argue *for* a nuclear weapons freeze and a missile flight test ban, and against Star Wars.

FVI argues that the Soviet threat has grown because the United States, in the absence of a nuclear weapons freeze, permits the Soviets to modernize their nuclear forces, which makes it increasingly possible for them to launch a pre-emptive first strike against the United States. In an astonishing attempt to dress up this pro-arms control message in conservative language, FVI warns that "new generations of [Soviet] nuclear weapons [could] wipe out American forces in a nuclear version of Pearl Harbor." (FVI repeatedly uses the Pearl Harbor analogy to beat the drum for a nuclear freeze.)

This ingenious argument is cynical and disingenuous. First of all, it is not at all clear that modernization has increased Soviet first-strike capability or that U.S. nuclear forces have been made increasingly vulnerable as a result. This would suggest that President Reagan was right when he announced that the U.S. nuclear forces had a "window of vulnerability." Second, it is hard to imagine any conservative buying this argument. Conservatives have long accused left-wingers and communists of concealing their real politics in "popular front" groups and covertly pursuing a hidden agenda. Conservatives, with some justification, condemn attempts to "subvert" an open, cards-on-the-table debate. In this case, devil's advocacy plays right into the opponent's hand, who can trump the argument that a freeze contributes to American "strength" by laying down the disingenuous card. FVI may have wanted to find a way for liberal candidates to reach conservative voters. But this approach may well backfire. □

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**Pam Solo**

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# RESOURCES

## Books

**Inside America** *by Louis Harris ($8.95, 422 pages, Vintage Books, 1987).* Alexis de Tocqueville rode around on a horse to find out what Americans thought about life, death and taxes, and democracy. Today, pollsters like Louis Harris conduct public opinion surveys to determine the mood of Americans.

Harris sifts through various polls on an encyclopedic range of subjects, presents the results, frequently in easy-to-read charts, and then makes "observations" explaining why he thinks people hold these views. Of particular interest is the 100-page section on "The Nation and the World," which describes changing attitudes toward the U.S. military buildup, intervention in the Third World, arms control and the Soviet Union.

Reading through the book, one is struck with the basic sensibleness of Americans' views. What is curious is that U.S. policy, in many areas, does not reflect the views of its citizenry. Harris does not adequately explain this disparity. If he had, he might have made, like Tocqueville, an important contribution to thinking about democracy in America. *—Robert Schaeffer*

**The Last Intellectuals** *by Russell Jacoby ($18.95, 290 pages, Basic Books, 1987).* Social movements depend heavily upon intellectuals for ideas, for their analysis, argumentation and passion. Imagine a disarmament movement without the likes of Randall Forsberg and Jonathan Schell, the women's movement without Betty Friedan and Germaine Greer, or the environmental movement without Rachel Carson and Aldo Leopold.

Russell Jacoby argues that the "public intellectual," the scholar who can popularize complex ideas, is an endangered social species. As intellectuals take refuge in academia (and also government), they become specialized experts unable to speak to a general audience and unwilling to address popular (and unpopular) issues. Jacoby makes a persuasive case that academia is clipping intellectuals' wings and stunting the development of new, controversial ideas. If he's right, activists and social movements in the United States will suffer. Unless movements preserve the cultural habitat for public-spirited intellectuals, activists will come to rely on aloof academic experts who will be unable to contribute to the discussion of contemporary problems. *—R.S.*

**Waking up in the Nuclear Age: The Book of Nuclear Therapy** *by Chellis Glendinning ($14.95, 216 pages, Beech Tree Books, 1987).* Denial and psychic numbing, Chellis Glendinning asserts, prevent most people from confronting the threat of nuclear annihilation. These psychological defense mechanisms prompt such emotions as anger, depression, fear and sorrow.

To overcome denial and awaken to the dangers of nuclear war, Glendinning believes people must make a personal commitment to collective social change. In *Waking Up* Glendinning outlines a "modern day rite of passage" that will help people arrive in the "New Age." To change society, she argues, people must also change themselves. This dual transformation, she says, is a "heroic" undertaking. And heroism, according to Glendinning, is attained when we incorporate meaning and integrity into our lives.

*Waking Up* poses important questions, but Glendinning tends to get somewhat caught up in her own anecdotes and examples. The result is a sometimes confusing and discontinuous narrative. However, *Waking Up* is good example of "New Age" thinking, which helps people probe their consciences on nuclear issues. *—Elise Holland*

## Videos

**How to Prevent a Nuclear War** *by Liane Brandon (31 minutes, New Day Films, 22 Riverview Drive, Wayne, NJ 07470, (201) 633-0212).* Liane Brandon interviews a variety of people who explain how they make work to prevent nuclear war a part of their daily lives, and how individuals can make a difference. Their enthusiasm is infectious. With excellent production values, this video lights up the TV and lifts up your heart. *—R.S.*

# NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS AND COMMENT

## PSR

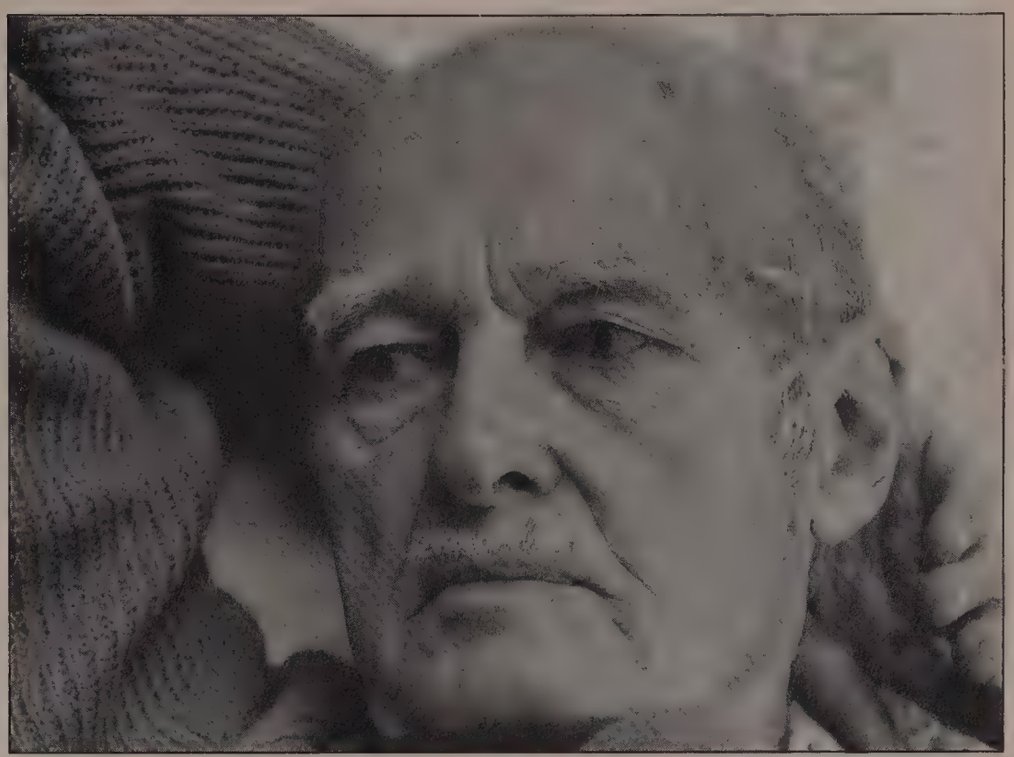
### Kennan on Deterrence And Mass Neurosis

Each year Physicians for Social Responsibility honors an individual who has made an outstanding commitment to the prevention of nuclear war. The 1988 recipient of the PSR Award was George F. Kennan, historian and former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. At the March 5 awards banquet, Kennan challenged the concept of nuclear deterrence that has served as the underpinning of U.S. national security policy in the nuclear age. As the following excerpts from his remarks demonstrate, Kennan remains among the clearest and most powerful thinkers of our time:

"There are one or two reflections that have been much on my mind in this recent period, and I would like to present them to you very briefly.

"The first relates to the concept of 'deterrence.' This concept, as you know, has lain at the heart of our entire national discussion of the nuclear weapons race for years and decades in the past. It has infused tens of thousands of statements and calculations. In its name, and in no other, have many tens of billions of dollars been expended, and vast, unnecessary arsenals of highly dangerous explosives created. And on all these millions of occasions when the term has been used, it has carried with it the implication that there were fearful things the Russians wanted to do—attacks on Western Europe, first nuclear strikes, or what you will—and would assuredly have gone ahead and done, had they not been 'deterred' by the threat of our nuclear retaliation.

"Well and good. But suppose there had never been any reality to this assumption in the first place. Suppose the Soviet leaders never had either the desire or the intention or the incentive to do any of these things. I ask you to consider this, because I, as one who has been involved in the observation of Soviet-American relations longer, I believe, than anyone now in public life on either side, have never seen any evidence of any desire, intention or incentive on the Soviet side to do any of those things. And if this is true, has it not then been a tremendous abuse of popular understanding to reiterate on thousands and thousands of occasions a word that carries the opposite implications?



**Winner of the 1988 PSR Award, George F. Kennan: "The danger lies not in anything anyone wants to do to anyone else but in the nature of the weapon itself."**

"So compelling, to my mind, is this question that I am coming to feel that until we can wean ourselves of this seriously misleading assumption and abandon the use of the word that purveys it—until we can learn to recognize that the danger lies not in anything anyone seriously wants to do to anyone else but in the nature of the weapon itself, and that we and the Russians, as the principal creators and cultivators of this weapon, are in a common predicament—until we can contrive to understand this, to convey it to others, and to behave accordingly, the chances of our working ourselves out of this terrible bind, regardless of the INF Treaty, regardless of what goes on in Geneva, are going to continue to be discouragingly slight.

"The second point I have to make is related to that first one, and goes even deeper. For many years we have encouraged ourselves and others to believe that we deplored the existence of nuclear weapons; that our ultimate aim was to get rid of them entirely; that our cultivation of them was only a response to their continued cultivation by the Russians; and that to the extent the latter could be brought to reduce their own arsenals and to permit verification of that reduction we would be only too glad to reduce our own.

"The service Mr. Gorbachev has recently rendered us is to make it evident that for many highly placed people here and in Paris and London and Bonn this is simply not true at all. These people, to judge by their reactions to recent Soviet initiatives, do not really want denuclearization on any terms. What the Russians are doing has little or nothing to do with their approach to this problem. They have taken the nuclear weapon to their hearts. They cannot picture life without it—and this, regardless of all the dangers its continued cultivation holds: proliferation, inadvertent release, computer failure, mixed signals, what you will. In the name of this anxious preoccupation with the imagined danger of a Soviet attack, these people are prepared to hold

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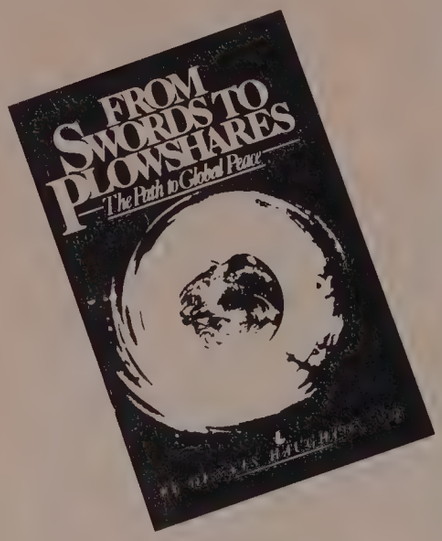
## A Major New Book on Peace Advocacy!

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humanity hostage, now and indefinitely into the future, to all the very real dangers inherent in the retention and continued cultivation of the weapons of mass destruction—as though the preservation of the skins of this single generation now alive were more important, in any case, than the continuity of a civilization, in which this generation is only a tiny and not very impressive link.

"So wildly overdrawn is this view—so great is here the gap between image and reality—that I can see it only as the product of some mass neurosis, and a highly morbid one at that—a neurosis I can only assume to be rooted in the effort to repress some sort of inner insecurity by the unreal image of an external danger.

"If half of what I have just said is true, then our problem is deeper than we have commonly supposed, for it is one that will have to be tackled not in the statistics of nuclear competition but in the states of mind that underlie much of our participation in that competition. And this is where the doctors come in. For every doctor worth his salt has to be, if I am not mistaken, something of a psychiatrist; and of all the professional elements involved in the anti-nuclear movement, you are the best qualified to understand the problem I have been talking about and to point the way to its overcoming. I cannot myself suggest the solution. But if, as so often happens in life, the understanding of a problem is already half of its solution, then my attempt to suggest the nature of this one will not have been entirely in vain."

*Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 939-5750.*

# ADPSR

## Professionals' Disarmament Network/New York

ADPSR and a number of New York City anti-nuclear professional and business groups have joined together to form the Professionals' Disarmament Network (PDN), to monitor Congress and educate members and the public on legislative issues involving nuclear arms reduction.

The network, launched late last year, is an outgrowth of the Election Year Education Committee (EYEComm), a project of the Washington-based Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control, whose members are Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC) and ADPSR. EYEComm took an active role in the 1986 New York congressional elections, and PDN has been shaped and tempered by its experience.

Following its first annual conference in New York last October, PDN adopted the following statement of purpose:

"[PDN] is established to provide a formal network, in the New York City metropolitan region, for professional organizations dedicated to nuclear disarmament and related issues. Our goals are: to maintain contact with our members of Congress and other officials; to influence and monitor their performance on nuclear disarmament and related issues; to inform our members and the public about relevant legislation and the positions of their elected officials; and to advance nuclear disarmament and related matters as campaign issues in future political elections."

Delegates from each member organization meet monthly to exchange information on their current activities, to discuss and act on legislative dispatches from the Professionals' Coalition in Washington, and to coordinate such efforts as public lectures, writing and calling members of Congress, and general administration.

PDN is currently recruiting members for its congressional district monitoring and legislative education teams. Its 1988 goal is to visit incumbents and challengers in 22 New York congressional districts.

*For more information, contact Jacques Sartisky, Professionals' Disarmament Network, 70 West 40th St., 4th Floor, New York, NY 10018, (212) 869-2400. ADPSR is at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 334-8104.*

# SANE/FREEZE

## Mr. Coffin Goes to Washington...Sometimes

Stories, photos, speech excerpts pile up. In big-city dailies like *The Atlanta Constitution* and the *Chicago Tribune*, and in papers like the *Rockford Register Star*—that only your Mom and the neighbors read—the Rev. William Sloane Coffin is making headlines from Dallas to Dubuque.

Coffin, president of the newly merged SANE/FREEZE, spends only occasional days in Washington, where the organization is headquartered. Instead, a frenetic schedule has him speaking everywhere from Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta and Operation PUSH in Chicago, to privileged enclaves like the Yale Club and Choate.

"I look to Washington only to ratify what it can no longer resist," Coffin booms in his rich baritone, addressing a packed audience in Austin, Texas. "I am committed to a grassroots approach to peace and

justice issues because I think this is the most effective way to turn the country around."

Coffin may be onto something. His powerful oratory may be what is needed to inject new vigor into the anti-nuclear movement. Where Helen Caldicott ignited a flame under the public's dampened consciousness in the early 1980s, Coffin is breathing life into smoldering embers. He chortles, tells jokes, and exudes hope.

"When we can't be optimistic, we have to be persistent," he says. "Hope is not the same as optimism. Hope's opposite is not pessimism, but despair. Like the prophets, we take a dim view of the present only because we have such a bright vision of the future."

That bright vision for Coffin is the kind of justice that would roll down like mighty waters once the arms race ended. At Operation PUSH in Chicago, more than 1,000 people, mostly black, have gathered to hear this old civil rights ally who has come to talk about treaties and nuclear missiles.

"We need PUSH in the peace movement in the way Dr. King was in the peace movement and the justice movement," Coffin tells a cheering audience. "We may not be responsible for our world's condition, but we are responsible for changing it." He urges them to call on their senators to ratify the INF Treaty. But, he adds, "We must make sure that INF is a first step and not a side step. It can lead to a second step, a 50 percent reduction in missiles. And then we can get after those conventional weapons, which are conventional only in the sense of being non-nuclear, not non-lethal."

Coffin draws strongest approval when he talks about economic linkage—the glue that binds together the diverse groups to whom he speaks. "The cost of these weapons makes them a justice issue," he says. "For one trillion dollars, you could build a $75,000 house, place it on $5,000 worth of land, furnish it with $10,000 worth of furniture, put a $10,000 car in the garage—and give all this to each and every family in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Colorado and Utah. Having done this, you would still have enough money to build 500 schools at $10 million each for the communities in the region. And after that, you would still have enough left out of the original trillion to put aside, at 10 percent annual interest, a sum of money that would pay a salary of $25,000 per year for an army of 10,000 nurses, the same salary for an army of 10,000 teachers, and an annual cash allowance of $5,000 for each and every family throughout the six-state region—not just for one year, but forever." Then the punch line: "And that is only one-half of what President Reagan has spent on military weaponry alone." As Coffin finishes his litany of possibilities and of hope, the applause in the PUSH auditorium is deafening—as it has been in Iowa, in New Hampshire, and across the South.

But how to get those headlines, that applause, ringing in the ears of Congress? SANE/FREEZE, Coffin told *The Texas Observer*, is "committed to a safer, saner world through massive grassroots organization. We have as a goal in every Congressional district a group of dedicated people, hopefully Anglo, Latino, hopefully businessmen as well as educators and doctors and physicians for social responsibility—people of all kinds who will support one another and do their homework."

Also, on rare occasions, Coffin comes to Washington, as he did recently to testify at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the INF Treaty. The spectators were sparse, the atmosphere soporific. But even here, Coffin's booming baritone, irrepressible humor and goodwill came through, making the most radical pronouncements sound like common sense.

"Additional weapons add nothing to our security, they only increase the economic pain of budget deficits," Coffin told the committee. "And while we may be number one in global military bases and naval fleets, in nuclear bombs and warheads, we are presently number five in literacy rate, eight in life expectancy, 14 in available safe water, 18 in infant mortality rate, and 20 in school-age population per teacher."

The hearing room buzzed as Coffin, shaking hands, worked his way out. Then he was off to National Airport, to Florida, the Nevada test site and beyond. Far outside the beltway, something is beginning to stir. And here in Washington, the experts and politicians who cautiously wet a finger to the breeze, are just beginning to sense that, in the distance, a fresh wind is up.

*Copies of William Sloane Coffin's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are available for $3.00 from* SANE/FREEZE, *711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 544-0880.*

**Rev. William Sloane Coffin testifies on Capitol Hill: "Additional weapons add nothing to our security, they only increase the economic pain of budget deficits."**

# WAND

## Mother's Day for Peace

WAND's Education Fund is leading a nationwide grassroots campaign to make Mother's Day more than just a boon for greeting card companies and florists. The campaign is part of an annual effort to restore the original purpose of the day, established by Julia Ward Howe in 1872. As Howe conceived it, Mother's Day was the day when everyone, especially women, should rededicate themselves to the task of bringing about world peace.

To kick off the campaign, Susan Clark of the television sitcom *Webster* will join WAND Education Fund in asking American women to wear a flower as a symbol of their support for a world without nuclear weapons. The campaign will be supported by an aggressive national television, radio

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and print media drive featuring messages from Clark, Jane Alexander, Judy Collins, Helen Caldicott and Margarita Papandreou.

Local organizations will participate in the campaign by setting up "Mums for Mom" flower booths for Mother's Day and by soliciting local media to file advance stories on Mother's Day for Peace. Money raised from the sale of "Mums for Mom" will assist the individual goals of each organization.

Results of the campaign will be announced at the Fifth Annual WAND Mother's Day Ball in Boston, on May 8. The ball will also honor Ann Druyan and her husband Carl Sagan for their outstanding efforts toward clarifying national security priorities and bringing an end to the arms race.

*For more information on the Mother's Day for Peace campaign, contact Corinne Ewald, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament Education Fund, 691 Massachussetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174, (617) 643-4880.*

# ESR

## Summer School For Concerned Teachers

"I have taken close to 90 graduate credits from a variety of colleges," wrote Bob Brown, a Connecticut high school teacher, after attending an ESR summer institute last year. "Never have I taken one with the impact, usefulness or rewards of this one .... I gained more than just information; I gained new understanding and insight .... Thank you for opening up my eyes—and the eyes of my students!"

ESR's summer institutes have gained a reputation for stimulating breakthroughs in thinking and teaching. This summer, ESR will offer its fullest program yet for helping teachers stretch their abilities to involve students in understanding and caring about controversial issues. Teachers—ESR members or not—may choose from six different programs offered across the country:

■ **Teaching for Social Responsibility.** An introduction to thinking and decision-making skills using contemporary issues of peace and justice. Topics include: age-appropriate approaches; bias and propaganda; critical and creative thinking; cooperation, conflict resolution and negotiating skills; consideration of multiple perspectives; and supporting student participation and the development of an informed social consciousness. *New Orleans, June 6 to 10; Austin, Texas, June 13 to 17; Irvine, Calif., July 10 to 16; Grand Rapids, Mich., July 11 to 15; Cleveland, July 18 to 22; Portland, Maine, July 25 to 29; Lowell, Mass., July 25 to 29.*

■ **Thinking About the Soviet Union.** Explores new teaching methods for understanding the complex realities of the Soviet Union and its relationship with the United States. Topics include: new Soviet thinking; human rights; images of the enemy; the Soviets in the media; analyzing information; and examining assumptions and perceptions. *Minneapolis, June 19 to 24; Amherst, Mass., August 7 to 21 (with 20 visiting Soviet educators).*

■ **Conflict Resolution.** Teaching skills for conflict resolution, negotiation and cooperative problem-solving in the classroom. *Boston, July 18 to 22; Chicago, July 18 to 22; Minneapolis, August 1 to 5; Swannanoa, N.C., August 1 to 6.*

■ **Education for Living in the Nuclear Age.** Offered in conjunction with school systems in the greater Boston and Portland, Ore., areas; priorities will be given to those district teachers. *Boston, July 5 to 15; Portland, Ore., June 20 to 24.*

■ **Global Issues from a Third World Perspective.** Explores models for teaching themes in Third World development, using South Korea, the Philippines and South Africa as case studies. *Chicago, July 27 to 29.*

■ **Educating for the 21st Century: Teaching Responsible Citizenship.** Strategies for responsibility education, critical thinking and creative problem-solving, conflict resolution cooperation and global perspectives. *Fresno, Calif., June 27 to July 1.*

*Registration for the summer institutes is on a first-come, first-served basis. Contact Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1746.*

# AFSC

## The Battle Against Bases

The battle against U.S. foreign bases is gaining steam. Spain has evicted 79 U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers from Torrejon air base. Greece is taking a tougher stand in negotiations over U.S. bases there. Portugal is threatening to ban U.S. warplanes from Lajes air base unless the United States restores economic aid to former levels. And Turkey, also annoyed over cuts in aid, has refused to ratify a 1987 accord on continued U.S. access to six bases.

Most worrisome for the United States, however, is the 1991 expiration date for leases on Clark and Subic Bay bases in the Philippines. Sentiment against renewing the leases runs strong in the Philippines, and the country's new constitution contains an ambiguous yet important nuclear-free clause. With 15,000 U.S. troops, 12,000 civilian personnel and the largest U.S. military ship repair facility outside the United States, Subic and Clark represent an enormous investment for the Pentagon. These bases play an essential role in U.S. war plans, not only for the Pacific and East Asia, but for South Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East.

AFSC believes the U.S. peace movement should stand in solidarity with those in other countries who are opposed to U.S. bases on their soil. We believe these bases and the foreign troops on them represent a weak link in the chain of preparations for nuclear and conventional war, and are a focus for anti-intervention work as well.

To help inform and strengthen U.S. peace movement efforts to oppose foreign bases, AFSC is initiating two new projects. The first is a U.S. speaking tour of Third World and European women involved in struggles against U.S. bases. These speakers will describe the human impact of bases and analyze the political, social and economic effects on their nations.

Secondly, AFSC is preparing a book on the strategies behind U.S. basing. Written in conjunction with many writers from around the world, the book will examine the role of U.S. foreign bases in suppressing national self-determination and the struggles being mounted against them. It is scheduled for publication in fall 1989.

*Comments or suggestions may be sent to the National Disarmament Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7171.*

# COALITION

## Discriminate Deterrence: The Cold War is Back

Just as the signing of the INF Treaty was beginning to raise hopes of an end to the specter of nuclear war, the Pentagon released "Discriminate Deterrence," a 70-page report from the Commission on Integrated Long Term Strategy. The commission's members included Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski and retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John Vessey, among others. Their report is the result of a 15-month study by the Pentagon and National Security Council, designed to guide defense planning "for many years into the future" and timed to provide a blueprint for the next administration. Its message is no less than a call to fully reconstruct the capacity to intervene in the developing world and with it, the Cold War sys-

tem and its domestic counterpart, militarization of the U.S. economy.

"In the changing environment of the next 20 years, the U.S. and its allies will need to improve their ability to bring force to bear effectively," the report says, since "a bluff is less effective in a crisis than the ability and will to use conventional and, if necessary, nuclear weapons."

The report views the world strictly through a bipolar prism, with the Soviet Union and the United States as the only competitors. It sees the Soviets as constantly trying to "gain control over foreign resources," which forces the United States and its allies to "draw a line that no aggressor will dare cross." This puts the superpowers in a permanent war-like posture, leaving no room for the views of indigenous peoples and making peaceful coexistence impossible.

Through this prism, arms control agreements are not seen as beneficial if they only "reduce international tensions" or for the "international goodwill they are expected to generate." Instead, arms control is acceptable only if it allows resources now being used to maintain ballistic missile forces to be diverted to the production of a new generation of devastatingly high-yield, precise "smart bombs."

The report posits world politics as a zero-sum game: any activity outside U.S. control is a *de facto* gain by the Soviet Union. This justifies intervention in the Third World to "contain" the Soviet "threat." But the report goes further, implying that the real threat to U.S. privilege comes less from the Soviets than from indigenous forces in the developing world. A considerable section addresses the "threat" posed by "radical regimes" that refuse to accept colonial and neocolonial domination. It dismisses "peacetime support" based on social and economic justice, calling instead for a realignment of U.S. priorities in support of contra-type "low-intensity" forces, high-tech missiles, "rapid deployment forces," "more usable" nonnuclear weapons and innovating nuclear forces that can be used to their full "coercive effect."

Permeating the report is the belief that the United States has an inherent right of access to world resources, thus making any group or nation that chooses to control its own resources a threat. To pay for worldwide policing, U.S. taxpayers are expected to bear the burden of an "enhanced industrial capacity," sacrificing spending on social programs in favor of an increasingly militarized economy. And if citizens should refuse to accept this, the report cynically recommends that, Iran-contra style, lawmakers simply hide questionable operations under the label "special activity," enabling the government to "maintain official silence."

"Discriminate Deterrence" is a nightmare for progressives, but its publication does allow a glimpse of the future being planned and the policy options under consideration. The time to challenge this future of increased global tensions, low-intensity wars and domestic economic dislocation is now. The proper focus lies in challenging containment policy in areas such as Central America, the Middle East and South Africa, where the United States has a responsibility for what is happening and could mitigate or terminate suffering and violence.

The Coalition is rising to this challenge with the conference "Beyond Containment," scheduled for May 27 to 29 in Washington, D.C. It will bring together different sectors of the progressive community to examine alternatives to containment policy in all its forms.

*For more information contact the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, 712 G St. SE, Washington D.C. 20003, (202) 546-8400.*


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## Associations

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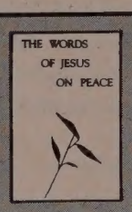


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# CALENDAR

## May

**2** St. Peter, Minnesota. The eighth annual May Day! Conference on nuclear disarmament will be held at Gustavus Adolphus College. This year's theme is "Building on Hope: Working for Peace." Paul Loeb, author of *Hope in Hard Times* and *Nuclear Culture* will speak. *Contact:* Kathryn Christensen (218) 931-7502.

Washington, D.C. The Center for Defense Information will host a conference on the danger of accidental nuclear war. *Contact* the center at: (202) 862-0700.

**3** Cambridge. A talk entitled "The Secret Wars of the CIA" will be given by former CIA agent John Stockwell at MIT Bldg. 10, Room 250 at 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. *Contact:* (617) 491-4205.

**6** to 8, Nevada Test Site. Mother's Day nonviolent civil resistance. Protestors will rally to support adoption of a comprehensive test ban treaty. Four regional actions at nuclear weapons installations across the country are also planned. *Contact:* Mothers and Others Connecting All (702) 648-2798.

**11** to 5, Guilford, Connecticut. "Planting the Seeds: A Nonviolence Workshop for High School Students" will be held at sites throughout the Northeast. *Contact:* Agape Community of Ware, Massachusetts, and the Center for Peace and Justice Ministry, 33 Whitfield St., Guilford, CT 06437, (203) 453-1707.

**13** to 5, Orlando, Florida. The First Florida Green Conference will be held at Camp Thunderbird. The conference will bring together the ecological, social justice, feminist and peace movements. *Contact:* (813) 822-5522 or (904) 379-8632.

**18** Baltimore. Physicians for Social Responsibility will host a talk entitled "Militarism and Human Services: Its Impact on Hunger, Homelessness and Health Care," given by Dr. Harris Peck. For location and time, *contact:* Baltimore PSR (301) 235-7760.

**22** to 5, Norway. "Disarm the Seas," international actions to oppose the militarization of the oceans, sponsored by the North Atlantic Network. *Contact:* Ports Watch, P.O. Box 2770, Elverhoy, 9001 Tromso, Norway.

**Barbara Marx Hubbard will speak at Northwestern University on June 3.**

**23** to June 5, New York City to Washington, D.C. The Walk for Peace, an Annual Pilgrimage to Reverse the Arms Race, will occur in two phases. Phase I: New York to Philidelphia (May 23 to May 29). Phase II: Philadelphia to Washington, D.C. (May 29 to June 5). Participants are invited to join either or both parts. For more information, *contact:* National Pilgrimage Office, Maurice Loiselle (617) 736-3590.

**24** Cambridge. Daniel Ellsberg will speak on "Authority, Obedience and Commitment to Catastrophe" at 7:30 p.m. at Longfellow Hall, Harvard Graduate School of Education. *Contact:* (617) 497-1553.

**26** Seattle, Washington. F. Stephen Larrabee, director of research at the Institute for East-West Security Studies, New York, will explore "East-West Relations: Where Are We Headed?" at the Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Washington. *Contact:* (206) 543-1812.

**27** to 29, Washington, D.C. A "Beyond Containment Conference," structured around analysis, alternatives and political strategy, will be offered to deepen people's understanding of U.S. foreign policy. *Contact:* The Coalition for a New Foreign Policy (202) 544-3609.

**28** to 29, New York City. An international concert featuring well-known musicians and artists from around the world. A simultaneous concert may be organized on the West Coast and in other countries. *Contact:* The National Mobilization for Survival (212) 995-8787.

**31** to June 24, New York City. The UN will hold its Third Special Session on Disarmament. Demonstrations will take place in New York. *Contact:* Susan Pines, National Coalition in Support of the UN Third Special Session on Disarmament, (212) 608-8155.

## June

**1** New York City. A War Resisters League Organizer's Training will be held from August 12-21 at Wollman Hill in Greenfield, Massachusetts. The registration deadline is June 1. For application, *contact:* WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 228-0450.

**2** to 6, Montreal. International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War will hold its 8th World Congress entitled "Healing Our Planet: A Global Prescription." To register, *write:* IPPNW 8th World Congress, GEMS Conference Services, P.O. Box 367, Snowden Station, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3X 3T6, (514) 485-0855.

**3** to 4, Evanston, Illinois. The Third Annual "Citizen Action to Bridge the Gap" Conference, on U.S.-Soviet relations and citizen diplomacy, will take place at Northwestern University in suburban Chicago. Barbara Marx Hubbard, Betty Bumpers and Victor Linnik are featured speakers. Forums, seminars and workshops on a broad range of issues will be offered. For a brochure *write:* Gene Podula 1321 Sleepy Hollow, Glenview, IL 60025, (312) 724-8957.

**4** Sites around the United States. Build Homes Not Bombs! A day of demonstrations to dramatize the need to cut the military budget in order to fund permanently affordable housing. Jobs with Peace is coordinating the local events. A "house" will be built at the Pentagon in protest. For more information and organizer kits, *contact:* Jobs with Peace Campaign, attn: Michael Brown, 76 Summer St., Boston, MA 02110, (617) 338-5783.

**7** to 10, New York City. An international conference will focus on political objectives, with special emphasis on the Disarmament 2000/Common Security Campaign. *Contact:* National Mobilization for Survival (212) 995-8787.

**11** New York City. A large-scale march and rally will mark the UN's Special Session on Disarmament. *Contact:* Susan Pines (212) 608-8155.

**14** to July 18, International Peace Walk and the Soviet Peace Committee will cosponsor a month-long walk that will bring together more than 200 Americans and 200 Soviets. The walk begins in Washington, D.C., and concludes on the West Coast. The Soviet walk begins August 15 in Odessa, concluding in Moscow on September 18, 1988. For more information, *contact*: IPW, P.O. Box 53412, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 232-7055.

## July

**5** to 23, Santa Cruz, California. The Resource Center for Nonviolence in California is offering a work camp with the city of Santa Cruz. Participants will study active nonviolence. *Contact:* RCfN (408) 423-1626.

## Ongoing

Chicago's Peace Museum. *Drawing Hope*: *Six Exhibits* will continue to run through August 31, 1988. The Peace Museum is open from 12:00 to 5:00, Tuesday thru Sunday; 12:00 to 8:00 Thursday; closed on Monday. *Contact:* (312) 440-1860.

Information Hotlines: Nuclear legislation (202) 543-0006; Central America Legislation (202) 546-0664; Nicaragua (202) 332-9230; South Africa (202) 546-0804; nuclear tests (702) 363-7880; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343.

*Compiled by Elise Holland.*

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